

THE
TRIBES AND CASTES

OF THE
NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.

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M

Monas, Maunas.—A sept of Rājputs found almost exclusively in the Benares Division. According to their own account they take their name from their eponymous ancestor Maunas or Monas Rishi. Their original home is said to have been Amber or Jaypur, and the legend goes that a party of them, coming to bathe at Benares, envied the fertile plain, which is now the Bhadohi Pargana of the Mirzapur District, and conquered it from the Bhars, from whom it took its name. Their immigration from their home in Rajputāna is fixed by the tribal legend at some six or seven hundred years ago. The enquiries, however, of Mr. Duthoit go to show that the Bhar rule in Bhadohi survived the Muhammadan conquest of Kanauj by some two centuries, during which it was in dependence on the Kantit Gaharwārs, and the rise of the Maunas power in Bhadohi cannot be fixed with certainty before the time of Sāgar Râê, whose descendant Jodh Râê, in the third generation, obtained a grant of the pargana from the Emperor Shāhjahân. At one time they enjoyed considerable property, and used, it is said, to give their daughters in marriage to the ruling families of Mānda and Kantit; but in the general anarchy which ensued on the downfall of the Mughal Empire, they suffered from the aggressions of more powerful neighbours, in particular the famous Balwant Sinh of Benares. The Maunas say that their Rāja, Siu Bakhsh Sinh, was fraudulently induced to give up to Balwant Sinh the royal grant (*Shāhi farmān*) by which he held the pargana from the Mughal Government. At any rate, whether this be true or not, the greater part of the Maunas territory was absorbed into the Benares Rāj, and forms a considerable portion of the domains of His Highness the Mahārāja of Benares. Naturally in the Mutiny the sept gave much trouble. They are now, as a rule,

in great poverty, and till as tenants the lands their forefathers used to own. They are held in little estimation, and now-a-days give and take girls from the septs of the Ġaharwâr, Bais, and Bisen of Mirzapur and Benares. In Jaunpur they are reported to take brides from the Bisen, Raghubansi, and Chaupat Khamb septs, and to give brides to the Raghubansi, RâjKumâr, Durgbansi, and Bais.

2. In Bhadohi of Mirzapur, which is one of the chief seats of the sept, the Maunas say that their original seat was Amber in Rajputâna, and some fifty generations ago some of them started on a pilgrimage to Gaya. Bhadohi was then ruled by the Bhars, and one of their Râjas ordered a Brâhman, named Siva Man, to give his daughter in marriage to the son of the Râja. The Brâhman appealed to many of the neighbouring Râjas for protection: but they failed him, until the party of Maunas Râjputs took up his cause and finally captured Chauthâr, which was the chief stronghold of the Bhars. Thus they gained the country. Their last Râja was Takht Sinh, who was overcome by the first Râja of Benares. Their *gotra* is Maun. They take brides from the Bisen, Bais, Bachgoti, BhatKariya, Bhanwag, Rikhbansi, Raghubansi, Saunakh, and Tisahiya septs; and give girls to the Ġaharwâr of Mânda and Bijaypur, Bachgoti, and Sombansi. The Maunas of Bhadohi do not intermarry with Baghels, as some of their brethren do. There are two grades in the sept—one the real Maunas, and beneath them others, who were introduced by being allowed to eat with the genuine Maunas. The latter marry in inferior septs and families.

Distribution of the Maunas Râjputs by Census, 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Agra	16	Ballia	287
Bânda	2	Gorakhpur	24
Allahâbâd	1,938	Azamgarh	401
Benares	582	Faizâbâd	1
Mirzapur	9,144	Sultânpur	1
Jaunpur	1,721	Bârabanki	52
Ghazipur	60		
		TOTAL	14,229

Mongil.¹—A sept of Rājputs in Oudh. They are said to have preceded the Bhars. One family of them is found in Sujanpur Ta'aluqa Adharganj.

Mughul, Mughal.—One of the four great Muhammadan subdivisions known in Europe under the form Mongol. Mr. Ibbetson,² writing of the Panjāb, does not attempt to touch upon "the much debated question of the distinction between the Turks and Mughuls. In the Delhi territory, indeed, the villagers accustomed to describe the Mughuls of the Empire as Turks, used the word as synonymous with 'official,' and I have heard my Hindu clerks of Kāyasth class described as Turks, merely because they were in Government employ. On the Biloch frontier the word Turk is commonly used as synonymous with Mughul. The Mughuls proper probably either entered the Panjāb with Bābar, or were attracted thither under the dynasty of his successors; and I believe that the great majority of those who have returned themselves as Mughuls in the Eastern Panjāb really belong to that race." In these Provinces they say that they take their name from their ancestor Mughul Khān.

2. In the last Census they are classed under three sub-divisions: Chaghtai, Qazalbāsh, and Turkmān. Writing of Afghānistān Dr. Bellew³ says:—"What the origin of these new clans was, whether they were conquered and converted Pathāns, who became absorbed into the dominant tribe, and thus, by the mere force of numbers and other favouring circumstances of the period, gave them both their language and social code of laws; or whether they were kindred tribes of Turks imported by Sabaktakīn (that is, 'the one called Sabak;' as Alaptakīn, 'the one called Alap,' *takīn* being the distinctive affix of the names of Turk slaves), the founder of the Turk Tātar (as distinguished from the Mongal or Mughul Tātar) dynasty at Ghazni, is not clearly ascertained. Without excluding the possibility of their increase by the occasional immigration of other kindred Turk clans from across the Oxus, it may be considered more probable that the increase in the clans of the Ghilji took place mostly by the absorption and adoption of subjugated native tribes; for we find several instances of Chaghatai Turk clans living in close proximity to the Ghilji, yet quite distinct from them, and entirely ignor-

¹ *Partābgarh Settlement Report*, 1888.

² *Panjāb Ethnography*, paras. 506, 507.

³ *The Races of Afghānistān*, 101.

ant of any kindred connection with them. Such Turk clans are the Bayât about Ghazni and Herât, the Cârîûgh, Chûng, and Mughal Turk (Yaka, Chirikcha, etc.) of Balkh, etc. Such also are the Mongol and Chaghatai Turk clans of Mangal, Jâji, Jadrân, Khitâi, etc., who are settled about the Pewâr and the head-waters of the Kurram river, and who were brought to these situations on the invasions of Chaghais and Tymûr—the Tâtar scourges of the world during the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. These clans, with the exception of the Jadrân, though they have almost entirely lost the typical physiognomy of their race, their mother tongue, and, indeed, everything else, but their names, which would connect them with their original stock, hold themselves entirely distinct, political relations always excepted, from the Ghilji, who are their neighbours."

8. Other clans in these Provinces are the Qazalbâsh or Qizilbâsh, "red heads," Uzbek, Turk, Kai, Chak, Tâjik. In the Panjâb the main tribes are the Chaghtai and Barla. Some of these, especially the Chaghtai, are claimed by the Bhatti Jâdons to have descended from them when they were rulers of Ghazni and Zabalistân. The last Imperial family was drawn from the Chaghtai. The Jhojha also call themselves Mughul, but they are supposed to be slaves of Mughul or low caste Hindus converted to Islâm by some Mughul nobleman. They are not suffered to intermarry with the Râjput Musulmâns, or with any of the pure Mulfammadan tribes.¹

Distribution of the Mughuls according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Chaghtai.	Qazalbâsh.	Turkmân	Others.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dûn . . .	108	...	...	93	201
Sahâranpur . . .	477	1	30	1,916	2,424
Muzaffarnagar . . .	305	16	832	578	1,731
Meerut	880	5	40	1,181	2,106
Bulandshahr . . .	780	17	9	1,657	2,463
Aligarh . ⁴ . . .	16	...	101	785	902
Mathura	112	56	15	215	398

¹ Williams, *Oudh Census Report*, 76, Râja Lachhman Singh, *Bulandshahr Memo.*, 191. *sq.*

Distribution of the Mughuls according to the Census of 1891—contd.

DISTRICTS.	Chaghtai.	Qasabsh.	Turkman.	Others.	Total.
Agra	520	26	76	1,400	2,022
Farrukhabad . . .	375	...	27	673	1,075
Mainpuri	100	...	...	117	217
Etawah	162	...	9	480	651
Etah	264	2	15	415	696
Bareilly	1,162	...	1	2,040	3,203
Bijnor	1,341	7	...	489	1,837
Budoun	809	26	3	618	1,456
Moradabad	713	77	2,015	9,829	12,484
Shahjahanpur . . .	721	2	39	561	1,323
Pilibhit	338	...	...	406	744
Fatehpur	708	...	...	594	1,302
Banda	103	2	10	299	414
Hamirpur . . . .	...	...	...	468	468
Allahabad	42	...	...	487	529
Jhansi	65	...	...	213	278
Jalaun	122	...	218	317	657
Lalitpur	10	...	1	53	64
Benares	123	...	...	997	1,120
Mirzapur	55	...	...	265	320
Jaunpur . . . .	...	...	...	548	548
Ghazipur	227	...	18	319	564
Ballia	17	...	...	193	210
Gorakhpur	332	3	11	943	1,289
Basti	81	...	...	1,696	1,777
Azamgarh	139	...	256	1,632	2,027
Kumaon . . . .	...	...	...	10	10

Distribution of the Mughuls according to the Census of 1891—conold.

DISTRICTS.	Chaghgai.	Qasabāsh.	Turkmān.	Others.	TOTAL.
Garhwāl . . . .	...	..	...	40	40
Tarāi	1	...	...	143	144
Lucknow	1,370	673	37	11,143	13,223
Unāo	249	6	6	646	907
Rās Bareli	211	27	...	363	600
Sitapur	1,084	69	50	1,225	2,428
Hardoi . . . .	...	1	...	427	725
Kheri	864	...	...	520	1,384
Faizābād	1,102	190	...	1,378	2,670
Gonda	780	.	86	527	1,393
Bahāich	429	15	20	883	1,347
Sultānpur	118	...	...	784	902
Partābgarh	38	...	5	348	391
Bārbanki	721	...	...	466	1,187
TOTAL	19,038	1,237	3,982	52,416	76,683

Mukeri.—A Muhamnadan tribe, which was separately enumerated at the last Census, but which is usually treated as a sub-caste of the Banjāra, under which head some account of them will be found.

Distribution of the Mukeri according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Mathura	1	Bānda	18
Farrukhābād	79	Hamīrpur	75
Shāhjahānpur	201	Allahābād	140
Pilibhīt	18	Jhānsi	38
Cawnpur	14	Jālsun	74

Distribution of the Mukeri according to the Census of 1891—conold.

DISTRICTS.	Number	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Ghāzipur	140	Sitapur	41
Ballia	69	Kheri	6
Gorakhpur	861	Faizābād	9
Pastī	868	Pahrāich	535
Azamgarh	1,834	Sultānpur	1,032
Lucknow	273	Partābgarh	150
Unāo	13	Bārabankī	174
Rāē Bareli	80	TOTAL	6,243

Murão¹ (Sanskrit *mūla*, "a root," Hindi *mūlī*, "a radish").—A tribe of cultivators and gardeners. They are really the same as the Koeri and Kāchhi, with whom they agree in manners and customs.

2. At the last Census they were recorded in nine sub-castes:—

Internal structure. Bhadauriya, who take their name from the

Pargana of Bhadāwar, South of Agra, which also gives its name to a well known Rājput sept; Bhagta from Bhagat, a vegetarian; Hardiya or growers of turmeric (*haldi*); Kāchhi, the name of a distinct tribe; Kachhwāha, which is also the title of a famous Rājput sept; Kanaujiya from Kanauj; Saksena from the old town of Sankisa in the Farrukhābād District; Sakta or worshippers of the female energies of nature (*śakti*); and Thākuriya or the Thākur sub-caste. In Faizābād we find the Hardiya or Hardiha, who are again sub-divided into the Bhaktiya or Bhaktiha and the Saktiya or Saktiha; the Kanaujiya and the Tanraha. In Farrukhābād they divide themselves into the Saksena, Haldiya, and Bāghwān, or keepers of gardens (*bāgh*). The Murão sub divisions, according to the Census returns, are 232 in number. Those most important locally are the Bakandar and Mitha of Bareilly; the Bhukarwāl of Morādābād;

¹ Partly based on notes by M. Rām Saran Dās, Faizābād, and the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Farrukhābād.

the Purabiya of Shāhjahānpur and Pilibhīt; the Bāhman of Basti; the Dhakuliya of Lucknow, who take their name from the water-lift (*dhenkli*) which they use; the Mewār of Sītapur, Hardoi, and Kheri; the Pachhwahān of Kheri; the Malikpuri of Gonda; and the Kalaphartor of Bārabanki.

3. The Murāos are orthodox Hindus. In Faizābād the Religion, customs, and occupation. Bhaktihas put a necklace (*kantī*) on every child immediately after birth; this is done by the Saktihas immediately after initiation. Their chief deities in Faizābād are Mahābīr, Pārvati, Mahādeva, Sītala, and Phūlmatī. The Saktihas worship Kālī, and two tribal godlings, Karai and Gorai. There the Saktihas and Tanrahas eat goats, sheep, and pork, which the Bhaktihas, Hardihas, and Kanaujiyas refuse. Their occupation throughout the Province is gardening, cultivation, and, in particular, the growing of the more valuable crops, such as opium, tobacco, sugarcane, vegetables, etc. They are a most industrious, hardworking, quiet people, and about the most thriving class of agriculturists in the Province.

Distribution of Muráos according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Bhadraunya.	Bhagta.	Hardiya.	Kaohbi.	Kachhwāhs.	Kanaujya.	Sakona.	Sakta.	Thakuriya.	Others.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dūn	560	...	...	94	...	...	...	52	706
Sahāranpur	1	...	10	...	...	...	29	40
Muzaffarnagar	3	...	...	...	6	9
Meerut	13	13
Belandahehr	614	614
Aligarh	35	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,326	1,361
Agra	5	5
Bareilly	784	...	10,823	1,412	1,234	...	54,634	...	...	2,838	71,725
Bijnor	30	30
Budann	6,839	5,843	776	...	74,463	...	...	573	88,494
Moradabad	1,739	1,224	8	11	894	...	...	9,974	19,950
Shahjahanpur	1,429	...	4,347	...	7,672	251	13,491	...	...	1,160	28,350

Distribution of Murdos according to the Census of 1891—contd.

Districts.	Bhadravita.	Bhagta.	Hardys.	Kabhi.	Kachhwaha.	Kanaujya.	Sakena.	Sakta.	Thakuria.	Others.	Total.
Pilibhit	1,870	..	3,066	2,191	3,386	8	11,270	..	..	4,343	26,134
Cawnpur	9	..	..	215	..	..	..	26	250
Fatehpur	4,293	4	..	11,255	..	..	..	2,150	17,702
Randa	..	9	669	..	22	901	..	49	38	455	2,143
Hamirpur	1	..	..	..	97	98
Allahabad	..	959	72	..	..	10,028	..	1,428	..	748	13,235
Jhansi	14	14
Jaunpur	82	82
Gorakhpur	..	105	260	..	..	145	..	..	..	142	652
Beeti	..	4,650	24,478	..	..	1,960	..	..	..	1,360	32,948
Tardi	541	6	..	..	2,133	..	..	40	2,720
Lucknow	687	169	55	4,460	..	..	10,044	981	16,396
Unao	..	1	60	..	..	3,843	..	..	356	274	4,534

Raô Bardi	.	.	.	.	...	44	40,373	134	1	8,364	...	...	...	1,075	50,591
Stapur	.	.	.	.	...	...	212	644	...	5,717	...	...	16,552	15,656	38,811
Hardoi	.	.	.	.	...	15,283	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	666	15,901
Kheri	.	.	.	.	3	...	1,207	54	491	11,843	...	...	6,089	16,227	35,863
FaizAbad	.	.	.	.	...	4,713	25,654	...	...	4,410	...	570	...	361	35,708
Gonda	.	.	.	.	...	...	32,278	...	...	11,472	1,818	...	...	1,192	46,760
Bahrâich	.	.	.	.	...	...	16,644	38	...	8,384	...	...	339	535	25,935
Saltânpur	.	.	.	.	...	1,759	35,354	242	32	2,799	...	1,274	...	2,016	43,476
Partâbgairh	.	.	.	.	...	651	3,818	52	...	17,599	...	3,180	...	1,533	26,893
BaraBanki	.	.	.	.	...	...	6,540	...	...	15,320	...	...	573	600	22,933
TOTAL	.	.	.	.	4,086	28,124	220,558	12,009	13,677	119,594	158,703	6,501	33,971	67,693	684,916

Muriya, Muriyari.—An endogamous sub-caste of Mallâh. Dr. Buchanan¹ calls them Muriyâri Mâlas, and says they came from the upper banks of the Ganges. Their only tradition is that their progenitor was a certain Kaldâs, who came from the South country. Their social position is much the same as that of Kurmis and Koeris, and Brâhmans will take water and certain kinds of sweetmeats from their hands. Those in Bhâgalpur, who have taken to cultivation, call themselves Maghaiya or men of Magadha, and profess to look down on the boating and fishing members of the caste, whom they represent as having come from the North-West Provinces.²

Musahar.—A Dravidian jungle tribe found in the Eastern districts of the Province.³ Mr. Nesfield, in his elaborate monograph on the tribe contained in Volume LXXXVI of the *Calcutta Review*, prefers to call them Mushera, and remarks that the ordinary derivation of the word, as meaning “rat-catcher,” is probably incorrect, as “rat-catching” or “rat-eating” is by no means the peculiar, or even a permanent, characteristic of the tribe; and the name in Upper India at least is pronounced by the natives of the country as Mushera and not as Musahar (“rat-taker”) or Musaha (“rat-killer”). “In an old folk tale, which has recently come to my knowledge, the name is made to signify ‘flesh-seeker’ or ‘hunter’ (being derived from *mâsa*, ‘flesh,’ and *hara*, ‘seeker’), and a legend is told as to the event which led to the tribe being driven to maintain itself by hunting wild animals. Probably, however, both derivations are fanciful Hindi versions of a name which is not of Hindi origin.” Mr. Nesfield’s account of the Musahars, however interesting and complete, must be accepted so far with caution, as he seems to have included among them the aggregate of the Dravidian tribes who inhabit the Vindhya-Kaimûr plateau and the valley of the Son with the hill country to the South of that river. Mr. Risley⁴ rightly prefers to call them Musahar. The Mirzapur tribe have the following legend to explain their origin: When

¹ *Eastern India*, I, 172.

² Risley, *Tribes and Castes* II, 109, sq.

³ These, or some of the kindred Dravidian races of the Vindhya range, are probably those referred to in the *Annals of Akbar* (Jarrett’s Translation, II, 159) as people in the vicinity of Chunar “who go naked, living in the wilds, and subsist by their bows and arrows and the game they kill.”

⁴ *Calcutta Review*, LXXXVI, 2.

⁵ *Tribes and Castes*, II, 118.

Paramesar created the first man of each caste, he gave each a horse to ride on, and a tool to work with. The others took each his tool and mounted his horse; but the Musahar began to dig a pair of holes in the belly of his horse in which he might fix his feet as he rode. Paramesar saw his folly and ordered that his descendants should live on rats, which they should dig out of the earth. When Paramesar had finished eating, the Musahar began to lick his leaf platter (*pa'ari*). Seeing this, Paramesar said: "These are low people. They shall always lick the platter;" and so they have been degraded ever since. In connection with this Mr. Nesfield notes that the horse is a tabooed animal to the genuine Musahar, as the ass is to the Dom, the dog to the Bâwariya, the sheep to the Khariyas of Manbhûm, and the pig to the Musalmân.¹

2. Mr. Nesfield quotes several interesting legends to explain the origin of the tribe. They are called

Traditions of origin.

Banmânush or "man of the forest;" Deosiya, from their great ancestor Deosi; Banrâj or "king of the forest;" Maskhân or "eater of meat." Sometimes a Musahar will say that his is a sub-division of the Ahîr tribe, but, in point of fact, they are the hereditary enemies of Ahîrs, as all their legends testify, and many are the petty raids they have made against them for the possession of cattle and forest.² One legend traces their origin to the Chero tribe: "At the foot of the Pipri wood lived a Chero warrior and king named Makara Durga Rââ. He levied tribute from the peasantry on the Ganges plain near Chunâr. At a distance of twenty or thirty miles on the North bank of the river lived, in the fort of Gaura, an Ahîr, named Lorik,³ who possessed large herds of cattle. Between the two princes there had been a long-standing friendship: the bond of union was a man named Sânwâr, who, with his twin-brother Subchan, had been deserted by his mother immediately after their birth. Sânwâr was reared by Lorik's mother as her own child; and Subchan, the other orphan, was similarly adopted by Birmi, the wife of Makara, the Chero king. But the friendship was broken when Lorik in search of adventures left Gaura and went on a distant expedition to Hardi, a city much further East,

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 26.

² Nesfield, *loc. cit.*, 3.

³ For the regular Lorik legend, see under *Ahîr*.

with his mistress whose husband was still alive.¹ Meanwhile, Sânwar remained in charge of the cattle at a pasturage called Boha.

3. "When Lorik had been absent for twelve years, the mother of the woman who had eloped with him presented herself before Makara, and, throwing a basketful of gold before his feet, implored him to avenge the insult. She showed him how easy it would be to make a sudden descent on Boha and catch Sânwar unawares, and how he could then cut off the head of Sânwar as a substitute for that of Lorik, and capture the deserted wife of Lorik in revenge for the capture of her own daughter. The Chero king hesitated to incur the resentment of Lorik, but yielding to the solicitations of his wife Birmi, and after sacrificing five boys to his guardian goddess, he set out against Sânwar, taking with him Deosi, the bravest and most warlike of his seven sons. But Sânwar, as it happened, had left Boha for Gaura immediately before Makara arrived there with his forces. So the watchmen and keepers of the cows were left defenceless, and were without a leader when Makara commenced his attack. These were soon defeated, and the cows were about to be seized and driven to Pipri as booty, when the bulls turned round and, making a joint attack against the enemy, drove him back to his own side of the river.

4. "After sacrificing seven more boys, and thus making sure of the help of his goddess, Makara made a second attack on Boha, and, after killing Sânwar in single combat, carried off his head as a trophy. The cattle and Gaura, the stronghold of Lorik, fell into the hands of Makara. On learning this news, Lorik determined to revenge himself on the Chero king, and attacked Pipri, which he was unable to capture until one of his men entered the fort in disguise and drugged the liquor of the Cheros at the Holi festival, on which Lorik entered the place and massacred Makara and all his subjects. At the time of this disaster, Deosi, son of Makara, happened to be absent, and being taunted by his elder brother, Shyâmjît, with deserting his father in his extremity, he was expelled by his family and driven to become a flesh seeker or hunter in the jungle, and was known as Musahar. Hence his descendants are called Deosiya, and, to the end of his life, he continued to attack the Ahîrs: hence the traditional enmity between the castes, and the

¹ Hardi also appears in the Bengal legend, and the woman is called Chanâyin.—Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, XVI, 28.

proverb *Jab tak jîwê Deosiya, Ahîr na chajê gâê*: 'As long as a Deosiya is alive, the Ahîr will get no good out of his cows.'

5. "Then he invented the digging instrument (*gahâdla, gadh-dlu*), characteristic of the tribe, and with this he one day slew Lorik, but was himself killed by Shyâmjît, son of Sânwar. Near the ruins of Pipri, at the confluence of two rivers, and in the very middle of the stream, there is an image carved out of a natural monolith of the goddess Behiya, to whom Makara sacrificed—first five and afterwards seven boys,—and who was once the guardian goddess of Pipri. In her right hand she holds a dagger, sword, and in her left the half of a human skull for holding charcoal. All this is carved out of stone: a long red tongue projects from her mouth, smeared with the blood of human victims. According to the Musahar legend, she was originally the guardian goddess of Sânwar, the elder brother of Lorik; but when Makara, the Chero, had won her over to his own side by the sacrifice of so many boys, and when Sânwar had been slain, she left Gaura, the house and stronghold of the Ahîrs, and took up her residence in Pipri under the patronage of the Cheros."¹

6. The legend further relates "that when Pipri, in its turn, was captured by Lorik and ploughed up with asses, she fled out of the fort to escape the threatened indignity, and posted herself in mid-stream in the confluence of the two rivers, where she still remains, nursing her wounded pride. The natives round Pipri now call her by the name of Nikundi, and she is doubtless one of the numerous forms of the death goddess Kâli. Pipri is now uninhabited, and has been so ever since it was ploughed up with asses by Lorik, the Ahîr. No Ahîr, or other Hindu, will live in it. But to Musahars it is sacred, as Gaya to a Buddhist, or Mount Athos to a Greek. Every Musahar (unless long separation by time and place has made him forget the place in which his ancestors were born, and from which they were banished) would see Pipri if he could before he dies, and would like to have his corpse thrown into the river by which the fort is surrounded. Meetings of the tribe are stealthily held here at midnight, and the imagination is left to guess at the orgies celebrated at such gatherings. Musahars attempt even to live there. But the Ahîrs of the neighbourhood combine together to expel them, and thus the old traditions are kept alive."²

¹ Nesfield, *loc. cit.*, 12, sq.

² Nesfield, *loc. cit.*, 7, sq.

7. By another legend, "Musahars are a rejected offshoot from Chhatris, as, by the previous one, they are a rejected offshoot from Ahirs. Between Chandels¹ (as the story runs, and so far the story is correct) there was deadly and unceasing warfare. At last all the Chandels were slain except a single woman, who escaped and fled into the forest. Her son became the founder of the tribe called after him Banmânush or Musahar. But, as he could not prove his origin from the Chandel Chhatri, neither he nor his descendants have been admitted into the Chhatri fraternity."²

8. Another legend again is told by the Brâhmins: "Arjuna, one of the five heroes of the Mahâbharata, had retired temporarily into the forest to meditate on the 108 names of Siva. In order to test the steadfastness of his devotion and tempt him to break the current of his thoughts, the god caused a wild boar to run in front of him. But Arjuna, notwithstanding his passion for hunting wild game, was proof against the temptation, and completed his devotions before he got up to seize his bow and arrow. The boar, on being chased by Arjuna, led him on through the bushes till he reached a hermit's hut, where Siva and his wife Pârvati had already seated themselves in bodily form, in the disguise of a Savar and Savari: he holding a *gahdâla* (the Musahar implement) and she supporting a basket on her head. Arjuna and the Savar both commenced pursuing the boar, and when the animal had been hunted down and killed, a contention arose as to who had the right claim to it. It was agreed that the matter should be decided next day by a wrestling match.³ Arjuna wrestled with the disguised god all the day till sundown, when he pleaded that he must go and repeat his evening devotions: to which his antagonist consented. Through the intensity of these devotions it dawned on him that he had been wrestling, not with a Savar, but with the divine being himself disguised as a Savar, on which he was now meditating. Returning to the hermit's hut, where the disguised Siva still was, he threw himself at the feet of his divine antagonist, received a blessing, and returned to his four brethren. Now, in the hermi-

¹ Whom Mr. Nesfield would identify with the Chero.

² Nesfield, *loc. cit.*, 14.

³ These wrestling matches with divine beings are common in folklore; e.g., Jacob.—See Conway, *Demonology*, I, 239, II, 134.

tage where these events took place, there was a maiden of unknown parentage, who used to wait on the hermit and prepare his food; and whom the hermit loved and cherished as a daughter. The maiden had just completed her period, and had gone, as the custom is, to bathe and purify herself in the waters of the adjoining river. On her return to the hermitage she found Siva seated there in the disguise of a Savar, with Pârvati by his side in the disguise of a Savari. The eye of the god fell on her. From the glance of that eye she became pregnant, and gave birth in due course to twins, one a male and the other a female, who bore an exact resemblance to the Savar and Savari whom she had seen in the hermitage. The hermit, judging from the uncouth features and dark complexion of the babes that she had been guilty of unchastity with some wild man of the woods, sent her out of his hermitage. From the two children whom she had borne, one a male and the other a female, sprang the Musahar tribe, the men of which are still noted for using the *gahdila* and the women for carrying baskets."¹

9. These legends are interesting as illustrating the connection between the Musahar, Chero, and Savar or Seori tribes. It is also curious to mark the survival of the custom of human sacrifice to the aboriginal gods: and the traditional descent of the caste from a female ancestress, with which Mr. Nesfield compares the descent of the Kanjar tribe from Nathaiya, the husbandless mother of their deified hero Mâna, and of the Aryas themselves from Aditi, the great mother of gods and men.² We may also note the tolerance of intercourse between brother and sister which marks a very early social stage.³

10. Mr. Nesfield divides the tribe into three sub-tribes, which do not intermarry or eat with each other.

Tribal organization. These are the Jangali or Pahâri, "men of the forests and mountains," who have maintained the largest share of their primitive speech and customs and who stand entirely aloof from their descendants in the open plain, whom they regard as degenerate; the Dehâti or Dehi, who have become partially Hinduised and live within reach of settled and semi-civilized communi-

¹ Nesfield, *loc. cit.*, 15, sq.

² Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, 146, sq.

³ See instances collected in Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 200, sqq.

ties ; the Dolkârha, who have a peculiar occupation, for which they are disowned and condemned by their brethren, *vis.*, that of carrying palanquins (*doli*) for hire, whence they obtain their name. But at present the tribe is clearly in a state of flux, and the more Hinduised branch of the tribe in Mirzapur have now the following occupational exogamous septs—the Khadiha, who work at carrying manure (*khad*) ; the Bhenriha, who say they take their name from living together in the jungles like sheep (*bhenr*) in their pen ; the Kharwâra, who say they are so called because they collect grass (*khar*) and make platters (*dauna, patari*) of leaves ; the Kuchbandhua, who make the brush (*kuncha*, Sanskrit *kuncha*) used by weavers in cleaning thread ; and the Rakhiha, who are said to derive their name because they cower in the ashes (*râkh*) during cold weather. Again, among the Musahars who live near towns, we find in Mirzapur two endogamous sub-divisions : Dhuriya, “men of the dust ;” and Jaiswâr, a name common to many low castes, and said to be a local term derived from their supposed connection with the town of Jais in the Râê Bareli District of Oudh.

11. As regards the division of the tribe into palanquin-bearers and men of the jungle, Mr. Nesfield quotes a legend that a Musahar, named Anseri, who lived on the Kantit estates in Mirzapur, used to work as a field watchman, but he and his sons, in the absence of the regular bearers (*Kahâr*), were once forced to carry a litter in a marriage procession, and were expelled by his brethren. Ansâri, the reputed founder of this sub-caste, is now beginning to supersede Deosiya, the eponymous leader, and this branch is beginning to take to fishing. Mr. Nesfield assumes that Ansâri means the divider (*ansa* meaning “half”), and hence he was the man who broke up the tribe into two halves—the Dolkârha, on one side, and the Bindrabani or Banmânush, on the other.¹ In Bengal, the organization of sub-castes and sections is much more elaborate, but there appear to be only two real sub-castes which are of local origin : the Tirhutiya and Maghaiya, who take their name from Tirhût and Magadha. According to Mr. Nesfield, the Dolkârha eat the flesh or carrion of horses and rear fowl, whereas the Bindrabanis whether of the hills or plains, do not touch either. The complete

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 236, *sq.*

Census returns show 137 sub-divisions. Many are borrowed from Râjput and other tribes, such as Ahîr, Bachgoti, Baghel, Bais, Chandel, Chauhân, Dabgar, Donwâr, Dor, Gaharwâr, Gusâin, Gwâl, Gwâlban, Kewatiya, Kharbind, Kharwâr, Khatri, Lodh, Palwâr, Raghubansi, Râwat. With these are other local groups, such as Bijaypuriya, Bindrabâsi, Bishnpuriya, Ghâzipuriya, Jaiswâr, Kanaujiya, Purabiya, Sarwariya. Those of most local importance are the Bankhadwa, Chauhân, Jangali, Jaiswâr, and Mughra of Jaunpur, and the Baghochhiya of Gorakhpur.

12. In Mirzapur, though the internal organization of the tribe seems to be very unsettled, it appears that Law of exogamy. the Khadiha, Kharwâra, and KuchBandhua are exogamous and intermarry on equal terms. Similarly, the Bhenriha and Rakhiha intermarry. This rule of exogamy is reinforced by the prohibition against marrying the daughter of the maternal uncle, sister, or father's sister.

Mr. Nesfield¹ states the rule of exogamy as follows:—"On the mother's side, a girl cannot be given in marriage to the son of her mother's sister, or of her mother's brother. On the father's side, she cannot be given to the son of her father's sister or of her father's brother, or to the son or grandson of any of her father's aunts or uncles. Thus, on the mother's side, the prohibition goes back to only one generation, and on the father's to two." On the other hand, among the more Hinduised endogamous sub-castes, the Dhuriya and Jaiswâr in Mirzapur, the rule appears to be that the descendants of the maternal grandfather (*nâna*) and that of the father's sister's husband (*phûphû*) are barred. At the same time they say that they intermarry with agnates or cognates after five or six generations, or when all remembrance of relationship has been lost. They have a tribal council (*panchâyat*), presided over by a hereditary president (*chandhari*). The offences enquired into are charges of adultery and fornication. Inter-tribal infidelity is punished by both parties being fined. The fine is heavy—liquor, pork, rice, and pulse to the value of ₹30; eight annas worth of tobacco; and one rupee's worth of hemp (*gânja*). Connection with a man or woman outside the tribe involves excommunication, and such persons are called "those outside the tribal mat" (*bâhâr*).

¹ Loc. cit., 232.

13. Among some of the Mirzapur Musahars, the rule appears to be that, if husband or wife indulge in habitual adultery, either can divorce the other with permission of the council. According to Mr. Nesfield, "Divorce, except for the one offence of infidelity, is not practised or tolerated. Such an offence very rarely occurs; and the habitual chastity of one partner ensures that of the other. If, however, a wife is accused of unchastity by her husband, and has been declared guilty by the assembly, her position is one of great difficulty. No married man can take her in addition to his own wife, for bigamy is disallowed. No unmarried man, or widower, can take her of his own free will, without incurring the penalty of excommunication. A man cohabiting with such a woman could, of course, retire with her and live in a state of isolation in the corner of some jungle, as some couples do from choice; but if he sought to ally himself to one or two other households for mutual aid and protection, he would for some time be rejected altogether, and could only obtain admission at last by incurring what is to him the heavy penalty of banqueting the other households for several days in succession. The separation of man and wife is so much disliked and discouraged by tribal opinion that a wife cannot be divorced, except on the most direct proof of guilt, or by a successful appeal to some ordeal, if the accuser is rash enough to expose himself to such an uncertain test. Frivolous charges, or improbable suspicions, if the husband is so imprudent as to bring them before an assembly, are dismissed with contempt, and the accuser is hooted for his pains. Supposing, however, that unchastity is proved, and a sentence of divorce is pronounced by the assembly, the ceremony by which divorce is effected is as follows: An earthen pot is placed between the husband and wife, and an assembly is called to witness it. After it has been lying there for some time, the man gets up and breaks it with the tribal tool, indicating thereby that the union between them is broken beyond repair. This ceremony is called *khapparkuchi* or breaking the pot."¹ There appears to be a difference of practice as regards the levirate. Among some of the Mirzapur Musahars the younger brother of the deceased husband can claim the widow. If he abandons his claim and she marries an outsider, the late

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 296, 27.

husband's brother has the right to the custody of the male children while the female children go with the mother. According to Mr. Nesfield, however, the widow, while she is still young enough to re-marry, has no claim upon the younger brother of the deceased husband, nor has he upon her. If she comes to terms with some widower who desires to re-marry, the union is sealed by them by simply eating and drinking together in the presence of witnesses who are invited to share in the repast.¹

14. Among some of the Mirzapur Musahars, the marriage is arranged by the brother-in-law of the
 Customs of marriage. boy. The father of the bride then comes to the bridegroom's house with three or four relatives with a rupee and a quarter and a dish to perform the betrothal (*barrekhi karna*), a square (*chāuk*) is made in front of the hut, and five platters (*dauna*) are filled with liquor and placed in the square. The two fathers sit in the square opposite each other. The fathers change platters five times and drink the contents. The clansmen are then treated to liquor, and get a feast of pork and rice. Some of the more Hinduised Musahars pay a Pandit four annas for fixing a lucky day before the wedding. Five days before the wedding day, they have the ceremony of the lucky earth (*mal mangara*).² On the same day the marriage shed (*māuro*) is put up. It consists of a bamboo at each of the four corners, and in the middle a bamboo near which is placed a representation of some parrots (*suga*) sitting on a branch. Near this is fixed, on a platform made of the lucky earth, the sacred jar (*kalsa*), which is decorated with mango leaves, and over it is placed a saucerful of pulse (*urad*) and a lighted lamp. The bride is bathed in a mixture of curds and water in which the bridegroom has been first bathed. At the bride's door, her father worships the feet of the bridegroom (*pair pūja*). Some curds and treacle are sent from the bride's house for the bridegroom, but he only touches it with his tongue. The bridegroom at the actual service marks the ploughshare fixed in the middle of the marriage shed with red lead, and then applies it to the parting of the bride's hair. They, then, with their garments tied, walk five times round the ploughshare, while the bride's brother pours a little parched rice into a winnowing fan which the bridegroom holds.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 237.

² For this ceremony, see *Bhuiya*, para 14.

15. Next morning his father shakes the pole of the marriage shed, and the bride's father has to give him a present (*mānro kildā*). One special portion of the ceremony is that the bride's mother takes the pair away into a field at some distance, and warns the husband to treat his wife for the future with consideration. During this exhortation, the bride is supposed to weep violently. This and the shaking of the pole of the pavilion are probably survivals of marriage by capture. When the bride comes home, her entrance is blocked by her husband's sister, and then she has to cook for all the relatives. Next day, as is usual with these tribes, the marriage jar (*kalsa*) and festoons (*bandanwār*) are thrown into a neighbouring stream. The jar is taken out, refilled with water, and brought home. With this water the bride makes some mud plaster and constructs a little shrine, at which she offers a small sacrifice to the evil spirits which live in the old trees about the village. The ordinary ceremony thus described is called *charhauwa*. Besides this are the *dola*, which is done by poor people, where there is no ceremony at the bride's house and the girl is merely brought home and the clansmen fed, and *gurāwat*, when two people exchange sisters.

16. The ceremony which Mr. Nesfield¹ describes is a rude form of the *dola* marriage above described: "The girl sets out to the house of the affianced bridegroom, accompanied by her parents, or by any other male or female relatives who may be invited to go with her. Previous to their arrival at the bridegroom's hut, a fowl's egg is placed at the entrance. The youth to whom she is to be married then comes out to receive her. The girl is presented to him by her mother. Taking her by the hand, and holding her hand firmly in his own, he leads her up to the mouth of the hut, and breaks the egg with his foot. On his completing this act (which he can only perform when holding her hand, so that it may be considered a joint action), the company present raise a simultaneous shout of *ku!* which means 'hurrah!' By holding her hand firmly in his own, he signifies that he has accepted her. The Hindu ceremony of *pāni grahana*, usually regarded as a purely Aryan rite, may perhaps after all be of non-Aryan origin. By breaking the fowl's egg with his foot while he is in the act of hold-

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 226.

ing her hand, he signifies that he has renounced all desire for any other woman: and she, by allowing him to hold her hand while he performs this act, signifies to him and to the company that she, on her part, has renounced all desire for any other man; for the fowl, it will be remembered, is an animal which Musahars do not rear, and which they avoid almost as scrupulously as the horse. The girl is then made to enter the hut, the youth directing her to the door. On entering the hut she takes hold of the feet of the youth's mother and touches them with her forehead, signifying by this that she intends to do honour to her son as his wedded wife. The mother-in-law then gives her blessing in the following words (some of which are of Hindu and others of the Musahar language): *Bhā magu maharin hito sohāgin ramali kanto rasa kio*: 'Remaining in the blissful state of marriage, do thou give delight to thy husband.' The youth then leaves the hut, the bride remaining with her newly made mother-in-law. This closes the first part of the ceremony.

17. "The next part begins with the cooking of a kind of rice (which, in the Musahar language, is called *kutki*)¹ into a paste or gruel thin enough to be drunk. This decoction is poured into cups made of the leaves of the *Makul* tree, one cup being provided for each adult present, including the bride and bridegroom. Here it should be understood that rice is the sacred grain among several of the Kol tribes, a sanctity which it shares with barley in Hindu or Brāhmanical marriages.² When the rice paste or gruel is ready, and each *Makul* cup has been filled, the company are made to sit round in a ring, and the bride is brought out of the hut and made to take her seat in the middle with the bridegroom. The bridegroom then kisses her on the mouth in token that he is to be her husband: and she in turn kisses his feet, and strokes his back up and down with her hand, in token that she is to be his and will tend him as a dutiful wife. This ceremony is called *mukhra chumba*

¹ *Kutki* is really a millet (*panicum miliare*).

² "No sanctity attaches to wheat in Hindu marriages: but rice and barley are indispensable in such ceremonies, and little branches of mango. Wheat is nowhere, nor are any other grains, but rice and barley, recognised at such times. Barley is frequently alluded to in the Vedas as the food of the Aryas. Rice and mango are indigenous to India. The most natural inference to be drawn from this is that wheat found its way into India at a later date, but was unable to deprive the older grain (rice) of its already acquired sanctity." On the sacrificial use of barley, see Schrader, *Prehistoric Anti ushes*, 292.

('kissing the mouth'), or *munk dekhna* ('seeing the face'), or *kar pherna* ('moving the hand up and down'). When the pair have given this public token that each has accepted and appropriated the other, the cups are distributed, one to each person, and every person present, including the bride and bridegroom, swallows the contents of his own cup. Immediately after this, the following couplet is repeated in unison by all the company, excepting only the bride and bridegroom themselves, to whom the words are addressed: *Kutki ki pich bandi, makhul ka dauna, Bodi boda byakh bhayan lena na dena*: 'The rice paste has been prepared in the *Makhul* cup; the maid and the youth are married—no giving or taking.' Then there is a general shout of *ku!* or 'hurrah!' which means that the ceremony is completed.

18. "It seems most probable that each of the two rites described above was originally a complete marriage ceremony by itself, but they have now been so long associated in practice that neither could be safely omitted. The blessing pronounced by the bridegroom's mother on the bride at the close of the first rite implies that she (the bride) is now fully married. 'Do thou give delight to thy husband.' Similarly the words spoken by the witnesses at the close of the second ceremony imply that there is nothing left to complete the validity of the marriage. 'The rice paste has been eaten; the youth and girl are married; hurrah!' What gives the binding force in the first ceremony is the joining of hands, while the groom breaking the eggs, and the formal reception inside the bridegroom's house or hut, the *deductio in domum*, as the Romans would have called it, form a parallel ceremony of their own. What gives the binding force in the second ceremony is the fact of the bride and bridegroom eating together some rice paste or gruel cooked in the bridegroom's own fire: and this the Romans would have identified with a marriage rite of their own, known as *confarreatio*." The prominent part taken by the mother on both sides is taken by Mr. Nesfield to be a survival of the matriarchy.¹ At marriages, Musahars pay worship to Deosi, the male ancestor and founder of the tribe, and sometimes a piece of cloth with some sweetmeats is set aside in honour of Savari, their more remote female ancestor, or to Mother Bansapti, their great goddess and pro-

¹ He quotes similar customs among the Kurs of Sarguja from Dalton, *Ethnology*, 234.

teetor. In the worship of Devi it is, again, the mother of the bridegroom who acts as priestess and sacrificer: and, again, it is rice which is used as the sacred grain. The first act in this worship is to take some unhusked rice, remove the husk with her own hand, grind the grain, mix it with water, knead it, and cook it into a pancake. All this and whatever follows must be done with the right hand only. The pancake so cooked is then besmeared with honey, the wild honey which Musahars are so clever in collecting from the woods, and which is, therefore, a fit offering to the deified ancestor from whom they learnt the art. Taking this pancake with her, together with some rice beer, a piece of yellow cloth, some more honey, some wild fruits and flowers, some *dāb* grass, and a live kid or lamb, she proceeds to the clay figure or mound intended to represent Deosi. Then, after sprinkling some river water in front of the figure or mound in order to purify the spot (for Musahars, like Hindus, are worshippers of rivers, and believe in the purifying influence of their water), she deposits all her offerings, except the kid or ram, on a plate or plates made of *Mahul* leaves. She then strikes pure and new fire by the sacred process of rubbing one stick on another,¹ and with this fire she cooks the offerings. Her object in thus cooking the offerings is to enable the deified Deosi to inhale the scented smoke, a vaporous invisible being like Deosi, being not fit to inhale any but vaporous substances.² She then decapitates the goat with a single blow of the axe, and places the bleeding, uncooked head as an offering of blood and life before the image. Then, touching the earth with the forehead, she repeats or sings the following four lines (every word of which, except the second, is in the Musahar language):—

Deosi bāba hit timro magnu maharin Indra hadariya potis ri.

Boglo pokpa dudhali chimla niberi hit timri boglo pokpari,

Popaki imiriya chimla chimli thammo ri,

Kemali Indra hadariya hutmu chimlo tepis kero ri :

‘Come into the world, O Father Deosi! from the palace of Indra. Eat food cooked by the mother of the bridegroom: come and eat the food.

Having eaten these offerings, bestow thy blessing on the bride and bridegroom;

¹ For this, see *Korma*, para. 13.

² This is exactly the idea of the Homeric sacrifices—*Iliad*, I, 317. “High rose to heaven the savoury steam and the curls of wreathed smoke.”—Blackie’s translation.

Then return to the palace of Indra ! O ancestor ! and behold again the dances of the dancing-girls.'

"The singing or intonation of these words completes the ceremony. The carcase of the victim is then carried back to the hut, where it is cooked in the evening for the marriage feast, with which the day is brought to a close. The bride and bridegroom are the most honoured guests in this banquet, and the festivities of the day generally close with some singing and music after Musahar fashion. Next morning the newly-wedded pair quit the paternal hut or cave and go out into the forest to seek their fortunes together and found an independent home.¹"

20. Unlike many of the kindred tribes, the Musahars have protective ceremonies during pregnancy. When the pregnancy is announced, a sacrifice of pork and

* Birth ceremonies.

liquor is offered to Mahâbali, a sort of ill-defined tribal god, who may perhaps be identical with Deosi. A cock and spirits are offered to Pahlwân, "the wrestler," who is considered an evil spirit (*bhûl*), some betel and sweetmeats to the goddess Phûlmatî, and a young ram to the Baghaut, or shrine of a person killed by a tiger. The customs, as in the case of marriage, differ in the two divisions of the tribe. Among the Musahars of the plains the mother, during delivery, sits on two bricks or stones, and it is immaterial what direction she faces. The cord is cut by the Chamârin midwife and buried on the spot where the child was born, a fire being lighted over it. They have the sixth and twelfth day ceremonies (*chhatî*, *barahî*) performed in the usual way. Among the more primitive branch of the tribe, as described by Mr. Nesfield,² "As soon as labour commences, a fire is lighted near the woman and kept burning till the labour is over. Into this fire, rice, grain, and rice straw are immediately thrown ; and as soon as the child is born, its body is gently rubbed over with the ashes by the woman who acts as midwife — the child's paternal aunt. The cord, as soon as it is cut, is put with the after-birth into another fire kept burning at the door of the hut or cave : a curious analogy to which is furnished in certain Irish folk-sayings current at the present day, in one of which it is said that 'an after-birth must be burned to preserve the child from the fairies,' the fairies being, in this instance, evil-hearted goblins whose propensities are the same as those of the Indian *bhûls*. The hair of

¹ Nesfield, loc. cit., 229.

² Loc. cit., 246

a bear and a slip of wood torn from an *saan* or *deoddar* tree are kept inside the hut, so long as the woman and child remain there. For one whole day and night at least a peacock's feather is dropped occasionally into the fire, which is still kept burning at the mouth of the hut. From the second to the tenth day, if the child is a male, or to the fifteenth, if it is a female, some powder of the burnt *chir-aunji* nut is rubbed occasionally on its body: the longer period being deemed necessary for the female on account of its power of resistance to malignant spirits being considered less. When all these ceremonies are completed, the mother and child have a final purifying bath in water mixed with the ashes of rice straw."

21. According to Mr. Nesfield,¹ the plain Musahars place much reliance on the protective power of peacock feathers. They do not keep a bear's bone in the hut, and sometimes wash the bodies of the mother and child with liquor. It may be noted that the parturition impurity extends to all the women of the house; for the men, during eleven days after the birth, cook for themselves outside the house, and keep apart from the women. The husband does not cohabit with his wife for three months after her confinement. Mr. Nesfield² describes the custom at naming a child: "On the day fixed for the naming, a sacrifice is offered to Barkê Bâba, the 'grandfather,' *viz.* Deosi, the founder of the tribe. Two names are given—one being the name of some Devi, or rather a name selected from among the numerous titles by which the Devi or indigenous goddess is known, such as Bangari, Nikundi, Bahiya, Britiya, Mohani, Rânkini, etc. The other name is taken from the tree near or under which the child was born, or from some hill near which or on which the family reside. Thus if a male child is born under a *Jigan* tree, it is called Jignu. Possibly in this custom we may see the germ of totemism on the male side, which, though undeveloped among Musahars, so far as I can discover, is found among certain other Kol tribes in Chutia Nâgpur. The name given to a daughter is fixed by the mother according to her own fancy. There is no ceremony of any kind attending the giving of the name, and no rule regulating the selection. The following are among the names commonly given to females: Birmi, Mughni, Ghanni, Kumâni, Jajiya, but I am unable to trace their meaning." The plain Musahars have the usual custom of

Loc. cit., 248.

² *Loc. cit.*, 248, sq.

boring children's ears, which is done at the age of five or six by a Sunnâr. This is called among them "the distribution of betel" (*pân bakkeri*), and is accompanied by a tribal feast of pork, rice, and liquor, and songs to the music of their drum (*huruka*). After this the child must conform to caste regulations in the matter of food.

22. The plain division of the tribe burn their dead in the usual

way on the edge of a stream, into which
Death ceremonies. the ashes are thrown. When they return

home they chew a leaf of the bitter *nîm*, as a mark of mourning, and the chief mourner throws a piece of lighted charcoal behind him to bar the ghost. Like the kindred tribes, they fix up a bunch of reed grass (*juras*) near the water's edge, which the chief mourner waters every morning as an abiding place for the spirit. On the tenth day, the clansmen shave their heads, and the brother-in-law (*bahnai*) of the dead man, who officiates as priest, offers a lump of flour to the dead man's spirit. When he comes home, he takes an earthen-potful of food and lays it out in the jungle for the use of the dead. Then a hog is sacrificed, and, being cooked with rice, is eaten by the clansmen. The death impurity lasts ten days. According to Mr. Nesfield,¹ the tribe in Singrauli, south of the Son,² simply leave the corpse in the place where the man or woman died. If he or she died in the jungle, or in the open air, they cover the body with leaves and bushes and go away. If he died inside the cave or hut, no other covering is considered necessary. The place is thenceforth abandoned by the survivors, who take no relic of the dead with them when they migrate to another part of their hill or jungle. There is safety, as they believe, in this precaution. For if they took with them a limb or bone from the dead man's body, the ghost would probably follow, and they cannot be sure that its company would be more to their benefit than to their injury. Their safest course is, then, to leave the corpse intact on the spot where the departed breathed his last, trusting that the ghost will not forsake the vicinity of the body in which it lately resided: *tumulum circumvolat umbra*. Musahars of the Son valley have a ceremony almost as rude. They simply throw the corpse into the river or its nearest tributary. The body floats in the water and is carried out of sight, until at last,

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 237.

² There are, apparently, no people in Singrauli who called themselves Musahars, and Mr. Nesfield is, probably, referring to tribes like the Korwas and Parâhiyas, who practise these customs, but are very unwilling to give any information on the subject.

perhaps, it may reach the Ganges : which river is regarded by many of the Kol tribes with a respect equal to that paid to the Son. The custom of river burial is exemplified in what Dr. Oldham has recorded of a Savari woman whom he accidentally met with in the Ghâzipur District. Her husband had died on the march and she had carried his bones in a sack for over a hundred miles in order to throw them into the Ganges.¹ Water burial must be a very ancient custom in the Musahar tribe; for this, according to the legend, was the way in which the corpse of Deosi himself, the reputed founder of the tribe, was disposed of.

23. " Other Musahars have retained the water ceremony, but have made some approach towards cremation also. They carry the body to the river bank, and, having washed it in river water, tie a cloth made of cotton or of *deodâr* bark fibre round the loins. The corpse is then laid on the ground, with its face upwards, and the head towards the north, the region of India, to which it is hoped the soul will take its flight. The spot on which the head and feet were laid is marked off for the purpose of paying future obsequies. The son of the deceased, or, if there is no son, his brother or brother's son or other male relative next of kin, takes a handful of straw, (rice straw, if possible), and, placing it on the face of the dead body, sets fire to it. The face is merely singed : but it has had the contact of fire, the great purifying element, so much used in all parts of the world in lustral ceremonies. The chief mourner then takes the body by the feet, and, using all his strength, throws it into the river. In this simple rite we see the germ of the Hindu ceremony of cremation followed by that of immersion—a rite in which the Vedic custom of cremation and the indigenous custom of water burial appear to have met each other from opposite directions, thus giving rise to the composite ceremony which Hindus now practise. Among Musahars, as among Hindus, the contact of fire is interdicted to persons who have died of small-pox ; for small-pox is believed to be of the same substance with Sitala, the goddess who presides over the dreaded malady, and it is thought that by burning such a corpse, they will be burning or otherwise offending the goddess herself. The same interdict applies to persons who have died of cholera and for similar reasons. Other Musahars practise a rite in which earth sepulture is the leading characteristic, but qualified by some show of water

¹ *Memor of the Ghâzipur District*, 50.

burial and cremation, and this composite rite appears to be of frequent practice among Dehâti or village Musahars wherever they may be found. The body, as above mentioned, is washed in river water, and the loins are bound round with a cloth of cotton or *deodār* fibre, and fire fed with rice straw is put on the face. The corpse, however, instead of being thrown into the water, as in the preceding rite, is deposited by the chief mourner in a tomb about two yards long and one broad, the earth having been excavated for this purpose with the tribal tool, the *gahdāla*. The face, as above, is placed towards the North. If the deceased was a man, the body is placed on the right side of the tomb; if a woman, on the left.

24. The explanation given of this is that man and woman were originally a single body, just as now man and wife are one flesh, and that the right or stronger half belonged to the male and the left or inferior to the female. It was further explained that when the two halves split asunder, each half became a whole and perfect body, one a complete man and the other a complete woman, and that the primeval pair thus formed were the first ancestors of mankind."¹ Some of the village Musahars leave the corpse in the ground for six months after sepulture, committing it to the care of their guardian goddess, Bansapti: at the close of the six months the remains are taken out of the earth and burnt, and the ashes are thrown into the river. The cremation ceremony that is now performed is called *lakhāri*. Some of the lowest caste of Hindus, those that are halting between the custom of earth sepulture, handed down from their ancestors, and the rite of cremation as taught and practised by Brāhmins, adopt a similar compromise, burying the corpse in the earth for the first six months, and then disinterring and burning what remains of it. Those tribes, or families, who practise this ambiguous rite, commit the body during the six months of sepulture to the care of the earth goddess, Bhuiyān (so commonly worshipped by the lower castes); just as Musahars commit it to the forest goddess, Bansapti, Bansatti, Bānsuri, or Bandevi.²

¹ These aboriginal burial grounds are scattered over all the hill country of Mirzapur. From some excavations made, it appears as if the body was partially cremated and then buried. These graves have the sides and tops covered with flagstones. On this, see Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, 103. Mr. Nesfield compares this with the Eve legend.—*Loc. cit.*, 239

² Nesfield, *loc. cit.*, 240.

25. The method in which the dead are propitiated varies according to the manner the corpse is disposed of. Some avoid the ghost by leaving the place and conveying no relic away with them. Those who dispose of the dead by simply throwing them into a river, make an offering of food and water every day for some nine days in succession at the foot of a *deodār* tree, the nearest one they can find to the spot from which the body was thrown. The soul of the dead is believed to reside in this tree as long as the obsequies are continued : and from this tree the ghost descends to receive the offerings.¹ The offerings are usually made at midday, and are presented by the chief mourner, that is, by the man who threw the corpse into the river. They consist generally of cooked rice mixed with honey, the flesh and eggs of the tortoise, the flesh of the lizard (*goh*), the porcupine (*sahi*) the boar, the crab (*kekra*)—all kinds of flesh in fact which the man or woman while living considered a luxury. Different offerings are presented on different days, not all at once. Those who before throwing the corpse into the river lay it decently out, place the head towards the North, and put fire on the face, perform the same kind of obsequies as the preceding, but with more system and formality. Instead of presenting the offerings at the foot of a *deodār* tree, they present them at the spot where the body was laid out before it was thrown into the river. For the first four days the offerings are laid at the South end of the spot—that at which the feet of the deceased were laid—and the offerings during those days consist of rice beer, rice pancakes mixed with honey, the flesh and eggs of the tortoise. At the time of presenting the offerings, the mourner repeats the following words (all in the Musahar language) :—

Timro hutmu, Indra, hadaria potis !

Boglo magno pokha bahru bal :

“ Come, O dead one, from the palace of Indra !

Come and eat the food of the world.

Take it and return to thy palace ! ”

26. The offerings remain for some time at the spot where they were laid : after which the mourner removes them to his own cave or resting place (in which he is forced to live apart during the continuance of these rites, cooks the flesh and rice, throws one mouthful on the fire for the dead, addressing him again in the same words, and

¹ On these tree spirits, see Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, 215, and II, 10.

then takes his own meal of what remains. From the fifth to the eighth day the same process is repeated; but the offerings during these days are placed on the West side of the spot, the diet remaining the same as during the four days preceding. On the ninth day, the offerings are placed on the North side, that is, the part where the head of the deceased was laid, and the flesh diet is now changed from tortoise to crab. This is continued till the twelfth day. On the thirteenth day, the offerings are placed on the East side and the flesh diet is changed from crab to porcupine. This is continued for one day more. On the fifteenth, the mourner goes no more to the spot, but, after being shaved, re-visits his family, who then, with the Patâri or tribal priest, solemnize a feast of the dead, consisting chiefly of rice beer and hog's flesh.¹ Then follows the shaving of the head and face of the chief mourner, which is done not by the mourner himself, but by the brother of his mother or by some son of that brother, or by the husband of his mother's sister or by some son of his mother's sister. When the shaving has been completed, the shaved man and his shaver boil some strips of bark torn from an *âsan* or *deodâr* tree, and, after straining off the fibre, wash their face and body in the sacred water. He is then at last fit to enter the family cave or hut."² Last comes the general tribal feast of the dead. For a woman the offerings are made for nine instead of fourteen days, as in the case of a man.

27. The explanation given is that the woman carries the child for nine months before it is born, whereas the father keeps his son with him for fourteen or fifteen years, that is, till he is old enough to marry and go out and maintain himself independently in the forest. In some parts, the period of mourning is extended for a married woman from nine days to twelve, and the explanation, then, is that three more days are added in recognition of three days of weakness and suffering attending child-birth. Thus, in the case of the married woman, the final feast of the dead, which closes the days of mourning, takes place either on the tenth or the thir-

¹ Here Mr. Nesfield is mistaken. The Pathâri or Patâri is certainly the tribal priest only of the Majhwârs or Manjhis, who are quite distinct from Musahars. In fact, Mr. Nesfield seems, in regard to the latter, to have combined information, some of doubtful accuracy, regarding the mass of more primitive aboriginal population along the valley of the Son.

² Here, again, Mr. Nesfield must be incorrect. According to Watt, *Dictionary of Economic Products* S V *et trus*, the *deodâr*, is purely a Himalayan tree. There is plenty of the *âsan* (*ternstroemia glabra*) in the jungles of South Mirzapur.

teenth day: while that for a man takes place on the fifteenth day. Again, there is a distinction as to the amount of hair to be shorn off before the mourner can be considered pure enough to be readmitted into his family. If the deceased was a man, it is necessary that he should be relieved of his beard and whiskers as well as of the hair of his head. If the deceased was a woman, it is enough that he should part company with the hair of his head only: for, as a woman has no beard or whiskers, there is no need (they think) to have such appendages shorn off on her account.”¹

28. The ordinary Musahars, in Mirzapur, do not worship any Hindu gods. They worship, with prayers and sacrifices, one Sadalu Lâl, about whom it is not known exactly whether he was one of their ancestors or not. He is worshipped in Sâwan with the sacrifice of a hog and the oblation of liquor. In connection with him, ancestors generally are worshipped. They also worship the village deities (*dih*) with a hog, liquor, flowers, and a piece of cloth. Disease and death are attributed to evil spirits (*bhût*), to whom hogs and liquor are offered under a banyan or *pîpal* tree, in which they are believed to reside. They recognise five different kinds of ghosts: Nat and Pahlwân, who are supposed to belong to the Nat tribe; Daitya, the spirit of a Brâhman or Chhatri; Ahîr of an Ahîr; and Teliya Masân of a Teli. In Bârabanki, according to Mr. Nesfield,² they worship one Maganpâl under the title of Banrâj or “forest king.” As before described, they worship the tribal ancestors, Deosi and Ansâri, the latter “under the name of Dûla Deo,” which is now understood to signify the “dooly god.” The offerings paid to this divinity consist of the head of a ram or goat, the eggs of the lizard (*goh*), and a piece of yellow cloth. These are presented to him on a large plate made of *dhâk* leaves. Treacle and butter are offered to him through fire. The month in which these offerings are chiefly made is Baisâkh (April), the commencement of the marriage season amongst Hindus, when litters are in much request, and when the god is, therefore, especially propitious.”³ Like all jungle tribes, they worship Baghaut (whom Mr. Nesfield’s inform-

¹ Nesfield, *loc. cit.*, 244, sq.

² *Loc. cit.*, 258.

³ The conversion of Dulha Deo, the Gond god of marriages (*Central Province Gazetteer*, 106, 275) into Dûla Deo, the god of the litter, is curious, if correct. For Dulha Deo, see *Introduction to Popular Religion and Folklore*, 75.

ants converted into Bhāgwat Deo), the ghost of a person killed by a tiger. They also have in their villages images of Mahābir or Hanumān, the god-monkey in his phallic form. "The great active power in the universe, according to Musahar belief, is Bansapati, Bansatti, or Bānsuri, the goddess who (as her name implies) personifies and presides over forests. By her command the trees bear fruit, the bulbs grow in the earth, the bees make honey, the tussar worm fattens on the *āsan* leaf, and lizards, wolves, and jackals (useful for food to man) multiply their kind. She is the goddess of child-birth. To her the childless wife makes prayers for the grant of offspring. In her name and by her aid, the medicine man or sorcerer expels devils from the bodies of the possessed. In her name and to her honour, the village man kindles a new fire for lighting a brick kiln. Woe to the man who takes a false oath in the name of Bansatti." ¹

29. "Bansapti is worshipped by Musahars in their own houses or huts. They make a platform (*chauri*) in the corner of the hut, about one inch in height, above the level of the floor, and nine inches in breadth and length. This little square is made of clay, and the sacrifice is smeared with river water or cowdung. This is the altar on which the offerings to her are placed—an altar without an idol; for there is no mound, idol, or other visible symbol under which Bansatti is worshipped. On ordinary occasions, the offerings consist of flowers, fruits, grasses, roots, &c., brought fresh from the jungles: and the days on which the offerings are made are Monday and Friday. If the worshipper has any special favour to ask, he cuts the ball of his finger with some blades of the sacred *kusa* grass, and lets four or five drops of blood fall on the altar, a survival, as we may readily infer, from the now obsolete custom of human sacrifice." ² Her special festival is in the second half of the month of Baisākh. On that day it is supposed that Bansapti is married to Gansām (whom Mr. Nesfield takes to be derived from Ghana-syāma one of the titles of Krishna), ³ whom Musahars call Dāu

¹ Nesfield, *loc. cit.*, 264.

² Nesfield, *loc. cit.*, 266, *sg.*

³ This, however, is more than doubtful, and it looks much more as if Gansām, the local god of the Kols, was introduced into the Hindu pantheon as Ghana-syāma, "the thick, dark rain cloud," a title of Krishna.

Gansâm, or "uncle Gansâm," or Bansgopâl. To him, in his phallic manifestation, a cone-shaped pillar of mud is erected.

30. Among the village Musahars the phallic deity Gansâm is replaced by Bhairon, whose vehicle is a dog. A little mud pillar, in the shape of a lingam, is erected in his honour, and among the plains men of the Gangetic valley he has become a sort of village guardian deity. He is probably of aboriginal origin, and has been introduced into the Hindu pantheon in the form of Bhairava, "the terrible one," who, like his Dravidian prototype, in this form, rides on a dog, and is called Swaswa, "whose horse is a dog." Some of the village Musahars, in Mirzapur, consult for their marriage ceremonies Upâdhya Brâhmans, who are held in contempt by their brethren. Four festivals are observed by the tribe in addition to the special tribal festival in Baisâkh: the Phagua or Holi; the Khichari or Khicharwâr, in the end of Mâgh (January—February); the Pancheinyân, generally taken as equivalent to the Nâgpanchami, or snake feast, on the 5th of the light half of Sâwan; and the Kajari or women's festival in the rains.

31. Their ideas, as regards omens, do not differ from those of the kindred tribes. Friday and the number five are lucky. To meet a fox on the road is lucky, and a jackal the reverse. They swear on Bansapti and the tiger, and on liquor poured on the ground in honour of Parihâr, who is really a member of the Pânchonpîr or Ghâzi Miyân cyele, but who, according to Mr. Nesfield,¹ has become a god of wine in the hill tracts, and is represented in the plains by Madain, the deity of liquor (*mada*). They have a water ordeal, in which the two disputants dive, and the man who comes up first is considered to have been discarded by the pure element, and loses his case. They have the common oath by swearing on the head of a son. When the oldest woman in a Hindu household drives out poverty (*Daridr khedna*) on 15th Kârttik by beating a sieve in the house, and then throwing it away, Musahars, who wish to obtain the powers of a sorcerer (*qjha*), lurk about, and, when the woman comes out, rush at her with loud cries and snatch her sieve from her. She is supposed to be a witch (*tona*), and the man who can first seize her fan inherits the powers. The man thus affected has to rush off and propitiate the offended deity by a sacrifice to Sadalu.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 280.

To cure a person affected with witchcraft, the *ojha* makes three marks on the ground with a piece of iron, which he then waves five times round the head of the patient with a prayer to Sadalu to make the exorcism effective. Witches generally attack young children, and the result is that they are seized with vomiting.

32. Women are tattooed on the wrists, cheeks, and nose. They

believe that Paramesar will brand a woman
Social customs, in heaven who desires to enter without these protective marks. Men wear earrings (*pagara*), bracelets (*dharkana*), and arm ornaments (*bijayath*). The women wear two kinds of nose rings—the *nathiya*, in the side of the nose, and the *buldq*, in the septum. They have ear ornaments (*karanphul*), bead necklaces, and glass bangles (*churi*). The village Musahars have now begun to abstain from beef, and will not touch a Dom or Dhobi, or eat with Chamars, Doms, or Dharkars. They will not touch the wife of the younger brother, the wife of the elder brother-in-law, or the mother of the son's wife. The hill Musahar eats the flesh of the cow and buffalo, and was, as the legends show, until lately, a professional cow-lifter. Their clothes are of the coarsest and scantiest description. The use of the bark fibre, as described by Mr. Nesfield,¹ seems now totally abandoned, and careful enquiry in the Mirzapur hill tracts has failed to verify the assertion that any one of them now lives the life of the cave troglodyte. Their houses are generally low huts or booths of branches. According to Mr Nesfield,² they have a prejudice against living under a thatch, but this hardly prevails now among the tribe in Mirzapur. They generally live in small scattered communities like other savages.³

33. Mr. Nesfield has prepared an elaborate account of their

industries.⁴ These he classifies into the
Industries. collection and sale of medicinal roots and herbs, wild honey, manufacture and sale of leaf plates, sale of wood for fuel, collection and sale of gum, the sale of the live lizard (*goh*) used by burglars in fixing their rope on the roofs of houses,⁵ the lighting of brick kilns, the watching of fields

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 38.

² *Loc. cit.*, 34.

³ Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, I, 452.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, 40, *seq.*

⁵ It is said that the lizard is thrown up, attached to the rope, and, clinging to the roof enables the burglar to climb up.—Nesfield, *loc. cit.*, 46.

and crops by night, field labour, making of catechu, rearing the tussar silk worm. Now-a-days, in Mirzapur, their chief occupation is that of carrying palanquins. They are short, stout, hardy, little fellows, and make excellent bearers.

Distribution of the Musahars according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Banmā-nush.	Kharā-bind.	Kharwār.	Other sub-castes.	TOTAL.
Allahābād . . . .	...	361	...	1,142	1,503
Benares . . . .	...	...	2,560	322	2,882
Mirzapur . . . .	...	...	4,506	891	5,397
Jaunpur	1,010	253	1,660	1,989	4,912
Ghāzipur . . . .	...	...	1,535	723	2,258
Ballia . . . .	...	...	8	192	200
Gorakhpur . . . .	...	...	...	14,993	14,993
Basti	227	...	...	...	227
Azamgarh . . . .	...	...	...	1,877	1,877
Rāō Bareli	412	...	...	...	412
Faizābād	2,140	...	...	76	2,216
Gonda	12	...	...	...	12
Sultānpur	2,011	...	...	324	2,405
Partabgarh. . . .	242	...	...	978	1,220
Bārabanki	68	...	...	80	148
TOTAL	6,122	614	10,269	23,657	40,662

N

Nâgbansi.—A sept of Râjputs in Gorakhpur, of whom Dr. Buchanan¹ writes :—"There are in this District a good many Nâgbansis, some of whom call themselves merely by that name, while others call themselves Vayasas, a name which in the account of Shâhâbâd has been written Vais. The Vayasas or Vais, however, universally admit that they are Nâgbansis, and that they assumed the name of Vayasa from Vayaswara, a town between Lucknow and the Ganges, where they were long settled, and from whence they came to this District, some generations ago, in consequence of a famine. Some of these, with whom I conversed, agreed with the account which I received at Shâhâbâd, and looked upon themselves as descended of the great dragon (*nâg*), and, as such, claimed a superiority over all other Râjputs, the great dragon being a personage of a good deal more consequence than the Rishis, from whom the others claim a descent. They said, and perhaps believed, that should a serpent from ignorance or mistake bite one of them, the poison would do them no injury. But I had no opportunity of putting their faith to the trial, that was proposed by the chief of Nâgpur. Other Vayasas, however, altogether disclaimed this extraction and gave one as fully difficult of belief. There was, they say, a certain very holy personage named Vasishtha, well known to all Hindu scholars, who had a cow known to all, and named Kâmdhenu. This was a very precious animal, which was coveted by Viswamitra, king of Gadhipur, who threatened to take her by force. Vasishtha was much afflicted at this, and Kâmdhenu seeing his grief, asked him if he meant to part with her. To this he replied that he had no wish of this kind, but had no power to resist the king; on which a number of warriors sprung from the cow, overthrew Viswamitra and, having killed most of his armies and children, reduced him to become a Brâhman, in which character he became an eminent saint. On this occasion the Singhâr Râjputs sprang from the horns of the cow, the Hâras from her bones, the Kachhoyas from her thighs, the Chandels from between her horns, and the Tilokchandras from the root of her nose. The great king Sâlivâhana was of this tribe, and having had three hundred and sixty wives, was ancestor of many Râjputs, among whom are the

¹ *Eastern India*, II, 461.

Vayasas who derive their name from Vayaswara, as already mentioned. Those who claim descent from the cow, account in this way for their being called Nāgbansi; they say that a child of a Tilokchandra was in habit of feeding daily with milk a serpent which he found in a wood. After some time the serpent was highly pleased and told the child to call his descendants Nāgbansi; and that he would make him a great Rāja, which accordingly happened. Bhīma was one day poisoned by his cousin Duryodhana and the body thrown into the river. It so happened that in that vicinity the daughter of a dragon had long been in the habit of praying to Siva, and was a great favourite; but on that day she had offered flowers which were rather decayed, on which the irascible god cursed her, and declared that she should have a corpse for a husband. The afflicted damsel (for the dragons of the lower world, both male and female, have human shape whenever they please) went to Siva's spouse and told her the hard sentence. On this the goddess upbraided her husband for bestowing so severe a punishment for so trifling an offence. It was, therefore, agreed that Bhīma should be restored to life after the fair dragon had married his body and he had by her a numerous offspring. The Nāgbansi Rājputs in the female line are thus descended of the devil, and if Bhīma's mother had been what she ought, might by the father's side be descended of the Moon; but the good man Pandu had nothing to do in the matter, and the lady, his wife, had Bhīma to the god of wind. This, I am told, is the story which the Nāgpur Rāja wishes to be believed, and he probably thinks that the bar of bastardy so long ago and in such circumstances is no great blot on his scutcheon. In this District the tribe is very numerous, but have chiefly come lately from the West, and possess no considerable estates, so that no family can be traced to the time when the Cheros, their real ancestors, held the country."

2. This local account of the connection between the Nāgbansi Rājputs and the Tilokchandi Bais of Oudh is interesting. The Oudh legends will be found under the head *Bais*.

Nāi,¹ Nāo, Nāu.—(Sanskrit *nāpita*, according to some a corruption of *nāpitrī*, "one who bathes") the Hindu barber caste. In

¹ Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Pandit Baldeo Prasad, Deputy Collector, Cawnpur; Mr. W. Cockburn, Jalaun; M. Ohhoté Lal, Archaeological Survey, Lucknow; Mr. W. H. O. N. Seagrave, District Superintendent of Police, Basti, and the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Bareilly and Agra.



Bundelkhand he is also known as Khawâs which was a title for the attendant on a grandee; and Birtiya or "he that gets his maintenance (*vriti*) from his constituents." When he is a Muhammadan he usually calls himself Hajjâm, which means in Arabic "a scarifier." It is curious that the Nâi, who is the great gossip-monger of the country side, has so little in the way of traditions about his own caste. According to one account they are descended from a Kshatriya father and a Sûdra mother; according to Parâsara from a Kuveri father and a Pattikâra mother. Another tradition is that Siva created them to cut the nails of Pârvati. The tribal saint of barbers is Sen or Sain Bhagat, whose name according to Muhammadan tradition was really Husain. He is said to have been a resident of Partâbpura, a village in the Phillaur Tahsil of Jalandhar District. According to Prof. Wilson, whose authority was the Bhaktimâla, he was a devout worshipper of Vishnu and his descendants were for some time the family Gurus of the Râjas of Bandhugarh. One day he was so entranced in his devotion that he forgot to attend the Râja to shave him; when he came later on in the day to apologise he found to his amazement that the Râja had been shaved as usual. It then became clear that the deity had really come in person and officiated for his absent votary. His votaries are mostly barbers and are found in the Western Panjâb.

2. At the last Census the barbers were enumerated in a Hindu and Muhammadan branch. Of the Hindus the following sub-castes were recorded: Banbheru, which is said to mean "quarrelsome;" Bâri, which is the name of a caste who have been separately described; Golê, which is also a sub-caste of Kumhârs; Kanaujiya and Mathuriya, "residents of Kanauj and Mathura" respectively; Sainbhagat, who take their name from the tribal saint; Sribâstab from the city of Srâvasti, and Ummara, which is the name of one of the Banya tribes. But besides these there are many others. Thus to the east of the Province we find the Sribâstab, Kanaujiya, Bhojpuriya, or "residents of Western Bengal;" Audhiya or Awadhiya from Ajudhya; Magahiya from Magadhâ or Bihâr; Byâhta who pride themselves on prohibiting widow-marriage and taking only virgin brides (*byâhta*), and Musalmâni which is another term for the Hajjâm. In Lucknow we have the Sribâstab; Chamarmunda or "those who shave Chamârs;" the Kumhra who do the same service for Kumhârs, and the Usarha. In Jâlaun are the Sribâstab; Ummarê; Husrentê; Bawar, and Bhe-

niya. In Bijnor are the Golê, Pachhâhi or "Western" and the Purbiya or "Eastern;" and the Bhimbru who are apparently the same as the Banbheru. In Basti are found the Sarwariya, which is the name of a well-known Brâhman tribe and means "a resident of Sarjupâr or the land beyond the river Sarju:" the Kanauiya and the Turkiya or Turkish Muhammadan branch. Lastly, in Cawnpur we find the Sri-bâstab; Ummar and Râthaur, the name of a famous Râjput sept. Here the barbers refer their origin to Srinagar or Kashmîr. In the Hills again they are reported to have regular *gotras* like the higher classes, such as Chanwal, Kasyapa and Bhâradwâjâ. The complete returns of the last Census show 883 sub-divisions of the Hindu and 197 of the Musalmân branch of the tribe. Those of most local importance are the Bahlîmi, Deswâla and Gaur of Sahâranpur, the Bulehra and Deswâla of Muzaffarnagar; the Turkiya of Bareilly and Gorakhpur; the Golê of Bijnor; the Bais, Sulaimâni and Turkiya of Basti; the Purabiya and Turkiya of Kheri, and the Pîrzâda of Gonda.

3. The Nâis generally observe the usual rule of exogamy which

bars marriages in their own family, and those
 Marriage rules. of the maternal uncle and father's sister as

long as relationship is remembered. To the East of the province the marriage age is ten or eleven, and a man nîay marry as many wives as he can afford to keep. They have the usual triple form of marriage—*Charhana*, *dola*, and *sagâi*; the last for widows. In the first two the binding part of the ceremony is the worshipping of the feet of the bridegroom (*pânpûja*, *pair pûja*) by the father of the bride and the *Sendurdân* or marking of the forehead of the bride by the bridegroom with red lead. The *dola* form is adopted only by poor people. Widows are re-married by all the sub-castes except the Byâhta. The ceremony merely consists in dressing the woman in a suit of new clothes provided by her lover who also gives her a set of jewelry. From Jâlaun it is reported that Nâis will not marry in their own village because they consider residents of the same village brothers and sisters. One origin of this feeling may be the desire so strongly felt by barbers to keep the constituents or persons they serve (*jajmân*) in the same family; but at the same time it illustrates an important principle which is at the bottom of one plausible theory of the origin of exogamy. Thus Dr. Westermarck¹ maintains "that there is an innate aversion to sexual intercourse between people living very closely together from early

¹ *History of Human Marriage*, 320.

youth, and that, as such people are in most cases related, this feeling displays itself chiefly as a horror of intercourse between near kin "

4. Nâis belong to all the recognised Hindu sects—some being

Vaishnavas, some Saivas and some Sâktas.
Religion.

As we have seen, to the West of the province their tribal saint is Sain Bhagat To the East their clan deities are Phûlmatî, a form of Devi, Bhairon Bâba, who is a genuine village godling and has been adopted, as has been shown elsewhere,¹ into the Brâhmanical pantheon as Bhairava, one of the most terrible forms of Siva, and Birtiya or Birtihâ. These deities are worshipped on any lucky day in the month of Chait.—Phûlmatî with the sacrifice of a ram or chicken and the offering of a piece of cloth dyed with turmeric, Bhairon Bâba with only a ram, Birtihâ, who is a low class godling, with a young pig and an oblation of spirits. Their marriage and other domestic ceremonies are regulated by Brâhmans, who to the West are drawn from the Kanaujya or Sanâdh tribes and to the East from the Saiwariya. In Basti they worship Mahâbûi and Bhâgawatî and to the West Sain Bhagat and some Muhammadan saints like the Miyan of Amroha or Jalesar and Zâhirpûi. They cremate their married dead and dispose of the ashes in the Ganges or one of its tributaries. The unmarried dead are either buried or thrown into a river after a sort of perfunctory cremation (*jal pravâh*). They perform the usual *vrâddha*, but in a less complete way than as is usual among the higher and more orthodox castes.

5. The barber's trade is undoubtedly of great antiquity. In the

Veda² we read—"Sharpen us like the razor
Occupation and social status in the hands of the barber," and again,

"Driven by the wind, Agni shaves the hair of the earth like a barber shaving a beard " In early times they must have enjoyed considerable dignity; Upâhi the barber was the first propounder of the law of the Buddhist Church.³

6. A village song from Bundelkhand gives a very graphic description of his functions. *Sabse Ndî bîra khilâri, Lekar sil naharni, chhura kari tayyâr churânri Choti pakai sabon komûnda, baghal, mekh aur dâiki, Gula phirva se men rakhkari*

¹ Introduction to Popular Religion and Folklore, 67

² Wilson, *Rig Veda*, IV, 233 X, 142-1 Rajendra Lala Mitra, *Indo Aryans*, I, 219.

³ Oldenberg, *Life of Buddha*, 159 Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, 238

kalam nukili kârhi ; Mând mând kar pet chaldvai, kheli karê na bári ; Peti baghal dabâkar lota hátli liyérujgâri.

"Of all men the barber is the greatest trickster. With his whetstone, nail parer and razor he gets ready his tool wallet. He catches people by the topknot and clean shaves them, armpit, moustache and beard. Leaving a round tonsure on the head, he points off the side-locks. By clean shaving he fills his belly. Neither field nor garden has he. With his wallet under his arm and his brass water pot in his hand, he makes his living" This, however, describes only one and perhaps not the most important function of the barber. Besides shaving and shampooing his constituents, he acts as a village menial; prepares the tobacco at the *châupâl* or village rest-house and waits on strangers and guests. As we have seen in dealing with various castes, his duties in connection with marriages and other similar functions are numerous and important. He acts as the general village match-maker, a duty which his wandering habits of life and his admittance into respectable households admirably fit him to discharge. He is always on the look-out for a suitable match for the children of his employers, and his powers of lying and exaggerating the beauty of a girl and the qualities of a marriageable youth are highly developed. He also acts as confidential envoy and carries announcements of marriages, invitations and congratulations at pregnancy and child-birth. In the absence of a Brâhman he takes up the duties of a hedge priest and can bring a wedding or a funeral to a successful issue. But he will not bear news which is inauspicious, such as that of a death. This is carried by the Bhangî, Chamâr, Balâhar, Dusâdh or other village drudge. Besides this he is the rural leech, bone setter, tooth drawer and performer of petty operations, such as lancing boils and the like. For this business he takes the name of Jarrâh who is usually a Nâi. If a Muhammadan he usually performs circumcision; but some Hindu Nâis perform this operation for their Musalmân neighbours. Akin to him are the Jonkâra or leech applier, which is the name of one of the Kori sub-castes, the Kânmailiya or ear cleaner and the Mahâwat who is a Nat and does cupping with a cow's horn and carries some rude lancets and a bamboo pipe with which he sucks the matter out of abscesses and sore ears. The functions of these craftsmen all more or less closely trench upon those of the Nâi.

7. It is rather surprising then, that with all these important

and confidential duties intrusted to him, his social position is not higher than it is. We have seen that menial tribes have their own Nâis and most of the barbers who serve Europeans are Muhammadans, because this employment would offend his high caste Hindu clients. The Nâi is not much higher in the social scale than one of the minor grades of handicraftsmen. The reason of this is that his duty of surgery brings him in contact with blood, and he has not only to cut the first hair of the child and thus contracts some of the parturition impurity, but he also has to shave and cut the nails of the corpse before cremation. He also shaves the heads of the mourners, and his wife, as we have seen in dealing with the birth customs of various castes, succeeds the Chamârin midwife and acts as a sort of monthly nurse. She also brings out the bride at the marriage ceremony where she is very much in evidence. All this tends to procure for her a somewhat doubtful reputation.

8. Nâis drink spirits and eat the flesh of goats, sheep and deer. They eat the leavings of Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Kâyasths. All Hindus will drink water at their hands, and part of their trade is to attend feasts, wash the feet of the guests, hand round the dishes and remove the leavings. Chamârs and other out-caste tribes will eat *kachchi* cooked by them and many high castes will eat *pakki* prepared by them.

9. The barber is one of the most important members of the village community. His wandering habits and his right of entry into households give him great facilities for the collection of gossip, and the place where he carries on his business, usually in the open air, becomes, like the Roman *tonstrina* or the Florentine barber's shop immortalised in "Romola," the centre of village talk and intrigue. He is a prosperous craftsman, receiving not only annual dues from his constituents, but special fees for marriages, confinements, circumcisions, and so on. The wit and wisdom of the country side is much devoted to the Nâi. "These four are always foul—the barber, the midwife, the leech and the butcher" (*Nâi, dâi, baid, quas-dâi, in ka sulak kadhi na jâe*). "In a barber's wedding every one is a Thâkur." (*Nân kâ bârât men Thâkurê Thâkur*). Hence he gets the mock honorific title of Thâkurji. "The barber washes others' feet but is ashamed to wash his own" (*Ân kâ gorna dhoe naunya, dpan dhovat lajâe*), and lastly, "Every one must bow his head to the barber" (*Hajjam ke âge sab kâ sir jhukta hai*).

Distribution of the Nais according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Banbhera.	Bâri.	Goâ.	Kanaujiya.	Mathuriya.	Sainbhagat.	Sribâstâb.	Umrâ.	Others.	Hajjâm (Musalman).	TOTAL.
Dehra Dûn . . .	204	43	36	...	...	...	77	...	631	272	1,263
Saharânpur . . .	4,118	302	32	...	...	...	28	...	3,577	11,088	19,145
Muzaffarnagar . . .	5,324	579	2,089	...	...	1	50	...	619	5,567	14,229
Meerût . . .	6,894	...	12,990	...	...	...	3	...	1,400	8,710	29,997
Bulandshahr . . .	1,741	...	6,684	...	1	...	...	...	6,663	3,570	18,659
Aligarh . . .	...	...	6,660	...	535	...	236	...	13,529	893	21,853
Mathura . . .	18	...	5,360	...	3,069	2	43	...	5,517	286	14,295
Agm . . .	20	...	112	...	16,423	...	548	...	3,948	281	21,332
Farrukhâbâd . . .	...	...	...	8	250	...	14,648	...	879	616	16,401
Meinpurî . . .	...	...	82	...	4,294	...	7,146	...	3,661	77	16,160
Etâwarâ . . .	...	...	...	...	467	...	12,626	87	2,187	94	16,411
Kash . . .	...	...	203	...	9,483	...	1,411	...	2,062	813	13,952

Bacilly . . . . .	...	2,532	...	...	13	...	10,261	...	1,638	4,026	18,470
Bijoor . . . . .	...	127	...	...	...	...	54	...	55	10,555	19,322
Budán . . . . .	...	4,447	...	...	5,059	9	2,880	...	759	3,196	16,350
Morábad	6	6,739	...	...	1	...	31	...	1,090	12,729	22,779
Shahjahanpur . . . . .	...	...	...	...	199	...	13,478	...	1,217	2,883	17,777
Pilibhit . . . . .	...	17	...	...	30	...	5,908	...	1,459	1,411	8,841
Cawnpur	6	30	48	...	11	...	22,469	...	1,151	328	24,043
Fatehpur . . . . .	...	...	1	...	...	...	13,727	1,922	272	1,754	17,676
Ránda . . . . .	...	...	2	...	...	...	9,867	...	209	183	10,361
Hambur . . . . .	...	...	...	3	...	...	916	2,267	1,328	108	4,622
Allahabad . . . . .	...	9	98	...	...	456	15,334	8,769	2,581	3,793	31,070
Jahsi . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	284	5,433	...	2,094	25	7,836
Jalaun . . . . .	...	...	...	33	...	...	7,053	...	854	16	7,956
Lahpur . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	53	1,381	6,651	...	8,091
Benares . . . . .	...	...	2,906	...	...	45	6,126	3	1,924	3,513	14,417
Mirzapur . . . . .	...	...	4,043	...	...	...	11,900	..	595	2,397	18,985
Jaunpur . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	852	13,747	...	513	6,402	21,514

Distribution of the Ndis according to the Census of 1891—contd.

Districts.	Banbhera.	Bart.	Gola	Kanaujya.	Mathuriya.	Bainbhaga.	Sridastab.	Umrâ.	Others.	Hajim (Musalmans).	TOTAL.
Ghazipur.	..	..	..	8,348	..	12	200	..	543	4,905	14,008
Bellia.	..	..	..	11,843	..	..	7	..	277	1,871	13,998
Gorakhpur.	..	..	..	30,306	..	22	794	..	10,969	8,665	50,783
Basti.	..	..	..	2,559	..	..	7,028	..	12,513	13,002	35,102
Azamgarh.	..	..	..	8,357	..	19	3,967	..	1,145	9,173	22,661
Kanoun.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	117	..	117
Garhwal.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	..	18
Tarai.	519	..	454	..	6	..	326	..	20	2,314	3,639
Lucknow.	1	..	..	176	4	..	10,149	..	1,084	3,217	14,631
Unao.	300	..	..	14	..	..	19,107	..	2,230	565	22,226
Rae Bareilly.	..	..	..	147	105	14	17,632	..	1,877	1,853	21,628
Sitapur.	..	..	..	..	..	..	11,201	..	752	11,280	23,232

Hardoi . . . . .	...	...	...	129	...	16,945	...	245	1,419	18,788
Kheri . . . . .	...	...	...	121	...	9,601	...	555	6,992	17,269
Faizabad . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	1,495	...	1,114	4,777	20,582
Gonda . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,350	10,953	28,656
Behrâich . . . . .	...	...	...	5	...	5,467	...	6,347	9,801	21,490
Sultânpur . . . . .	...	6	34	...	2,245	10,620	...	3,395	4,526	20,935
Partâgarh . . . . .	...	...	35	5	464	11,450	5	1,876	2,478	16,413
Bârabanki . . . . .	...	...	...	...	5	12,966	..	758	10,711	24,440
Grand Total	29,845	930	48,609	68,930	40,221	5,955	941,092	118,101	193,937	862,024

HINDUS 668,087

MUHAMMADANS 193,937

Total	862,024
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Naithāna.—A class of Hill Brāhmans who belong to the middle class and Bhāradwāja *gotra*. "They ascribe their origin to Jwālapur near Hardwār in the Sahāranpur District, whence they came some thirty generations ago and took service with Rāja Sona Pāla. They belong to the Gaur Division and owe their name to the village of Naithāna. They are distinct from both Sarola and Gangāri, but the better class of Naithāna Brāhmans intermarry with the former and the poorer with the latter. They affect service especially."¹

Nakhi.—A Saiva order, so called because they allow their nails (*nakḥ*) to grow long. This appears to be the only difference between them and Atīts or Sannyāsis. Most of them live by begging, but some have a private income from trade. They are very vain of their austerity (*tapasya*).

Na'lbānd.—(*Na'l* "a horse shoe," *bānd*, "fastening") the farrier and horse shoer. They are Muhammadans, some calling themselves Shaikh and others Pathān. These divisions are endogamous. They observe the usual Muhammadan customs. Those who are well-to-do marry their daughters as infants; some defer marriage till 15 or 16. Widows re-marry by the Nikāh form which is equivalent to the Hindu *sagdi*. Among lower class Muhammadans the term Nikāh, which properly means the orthodox ceremony of marriage,² has been appropriated in this degraded sense. Widow-marriage does not appear to be common, but a widow may marry the younger brother of her late husband or a stranger to the family. Infidelity in the wife warrants divorce, but the fact must be proved to the satisfaction of the tribal council. They belong to the Sunni sect, and specially revere, like many of the inferior Muhammadan tribes, the Pānchopīr and Shaikh Saddu, the latter of whom is propitiated by the offering of a he-goat and sweet cakes fried in butter (*gulgula*) with garlands of flowers. They also burn incense (*lobān*) in his honour. They so far follow Hindu usage as to offer sweetmeats (*kalwa*) and cakes to the sainted dead at the Shabibārāt and on Friday when there is sickness in the family.

2. Their occupation is farriery and treatment of horses and is thus equivalent to the Hindu Sālōtari (*Sanskrit, Sālīkōtra* "one who receives oblations of rice or corn," and hence a horse).

¹ Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III, 269.

² See Hughes *Dictionary of Islam*, 318

On this see Max Muller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, I, 167, note.

Nânakpanthi, Nânakshâhi.—A general term which seems to be used in rather an uncertain way to denote various kinds of Sikh Faqîrs. They all take their name and derive their doctrine from Nânak, a Khatri of Talwandi, in the Lahore District, who was born in 1469 A.D. and died in 1538-9 A.D. "Nânak combined the excellencies of preceding reformers and he avoided the more grave errors into which they had fallen. Instead of the circumscribed divinity, the anthropomorphous god of Râmanand and Kabîr, he loftily invoked the Lord as the one, the sole, the timeless Being; the Creator, the Self-existent, the Incomprehensible, and the Everlasting. He likens the Deity to Truth, which was before the world began, which is and shall endure for ever, as the ultimate cause and idea of all we know or behold. He addresses equally the Mula and the Pandit, the Darvesh and the Sannyâsi, and tells them to remember that Lord of Lords who had seen come and go numerous Muhammads, Vishnus, and Sivas. He tells them that virtues and charities, heroic acts and gathered wisdom are nought of themselves; that the only knowledge that availeth is the knowledge of God, and then as if to rebuke those vain men who saw eternal life in their own act of faith, he declares that they can only find the Lord on whom the Lord looks with favour. Yet the extension of grace is linked with the exercise of our will, and the beneficent use of our faculties. God, said Nânak, places salvation in good works and uprightness of conduct; the Lord will require of man what he has done, and the teacher further required timely repentance of men, saying "If not until the day of judgment the sinner abaseth himself, a punishment shall overtake him."¹

2. And yet Mr. MacLagan² says: "There is nothing in his doctrine to distinguish it in any marked way from that of the other saints who taught the higher form of Hinduism in Northern India. The unity of God, the absence of any real distinction between Hindus and Musalmâns, the uselessness of ceremonial, the vanity of human wishes, even the equality of castes are topics common to Nânak and the Bhagats; and the Adi-granth or sacred book, compiled by Nânak, is full of quotations from elder or contemporary teachers, who taught essentially the same doctrines as

¹ Cunningham, *History of Sikhs*, 44.

² *Panjab Census Report*, 148.

Nānak himself. Nor in spite of the legends relating to him, does he appear to have had any very remarkable following during his lifetime. And yet the persons now returning themselves as his special adherents very largely outnumber the followers of any of the Bhagats or reformers of the same period. The particular success of Nānak's teaching, as compared with that of the other reforming teachers, had its foundation in a variety of circumstances, of which not the least important were the character of his successors and the nature of the people who listened to him. Most of the other Bhagats were men of the south-east, teachers from Benares, Rajputāna and Delhi. Nānak alone had his origin in the Panjāb proper, removed equally from the centre of the Empire and of Hinduism, and found his following among castes who possessed such sterling qualities as the Panjāb Khatri and Jats. But if Nānak had no successors, or successors of no moment, his following would doubtless have remained a trifling one; and it must not be supposed that the large number of Nānakpanthis shown in our tables would have been so returned if Sikhism had not had subsequently a political history."

3. "The Nānakpanthis of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a sect much as the Kabīrpanthis and Dādupanthis are sects,—a sect with certain wide opinions differing from the ordinary Hindu orthodoxy and distinguished from other sects more by the character of its Gurus and the organisation of their adherents than by any remarkable differences of doctrine. The Nānakpanthis of to-day are known roughly as Sikhs who are Sinhs, followers of the earlier Gurus, who do not think it necessary to follow the ceremonial and social observances inculcated by Guru Govind Sinh. Their characteristics are, therefore, mainly negative; they do not forbid smoking; they do not insist on long hair, or the other four *kakkas*; they are not baptized with the *pāñhi*; they do not look on the Brāhman as superfluity, and so forth. The chief external difference between the Nānakpanthi Sikh and the followers of Guru Govind Sinh is the disposal of the hair; the former, like the Hindu, shaves all but the scalp lock (*bōdi*, *choti*) and hence is often known as a Muna or Munda ("shaven") or Bodiwāla Sikh, while the Sikh proper wears long hair. They are also known as Sajh-dāri. The only form of baptism known among the Nānakpanthis is the ordinary Hindu practice of drinking the footnectar of the Guru and this is not very common. It is known as *Charanā*

pāhul or "foot baptism" as opposed to *Khandē kē pāhul* or "sword baptism" of the Govindi Sikhs. It will thus be seen that from one point of view there is very little difference between a Nānakpanthi and an ordinary lax Hindu."

4. In these Provinces also the term Nānakshāhi seems to be a general term applied to all followers of the Nānakpanthis of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Nānak, and includes six sections: Udāsi, Nirmala, Kūkapanthi, Akāli, Sutharashāhi and Ragreti. Some are said to be initiated by shaving the hair and washing the body with curds and water; others do not shave the hair and let it grow all their lives. Their body is bathed in Ganges water which the initiate has to drink, and he also washes the feet of the Guru and drinks the water (*charanamrita*). After this the *mantra* or formula *satya nāma* is whispered into his ear, and when he reaches a higher stage he receives the *mantra-tatwa masi māha vākya*. Any of the four great divisions (*varṇa*) may join the order and there is no condition of age. The habits and guise of the various sections differ.

- (1) Among Udāsis some have the hair shaved, some let it grow long. They wear a narrow waistcloth (*kopin*) dyed with red ochre (*geru*) and an *anchala* or cloth round the waist. They carry a water vessel (*kamandal*) like Sannyāsis. Those who are heads (*mahant*) of a monastery wear a head dress (*śāfa*) dyed with vermillion.
- (2) The Nirmalas dress like the Udāsis, but keep their hair long and sometimes wear white clothes.
- (3) The Kūkapanthis wear the hair uncut and wear a turban and ordinary clothes. They live a family life (*grihasth*) and carry a white rosary.
- (4) The Akālis wear the hair long and wear a waist band (*jān-gīya*) and a black, and sometimes a white, turban. They are sometimes family men and sometimes wandering ascetics. They wear an iron ring (*chakra*) in the turban and an iron rosary. To the Brāhmanical thread (*janu*) they tie a small knife and wear an iron ring (*kara*) on the waist.
- (5) The Suthrashāhis are both house-keepers and mendicants. They beat two sticks together and sing the praises of Guru Nānak or some other worthy of the sect. They wear a white dress with a strip of black cloth round the neck and a turban of the same colour. This cloth is usually of wool.

- (6) The Ragretis are said to be the lowest of all and to be like Chamārs. They are followers of Guru Govind Sinh. They are apparently the same as the Rangretas of the Panjāb where they are classed as a sub-division of the Chūhra sweepers.

5. Udāsis and Nirmalas live on cooked food which they beg both at houses and at regular alms-houses
Occupation.

(*kshetra*). Many of them have an income of their own or are maintained by rich disciples. They ask for alms with the cry *Nārdyan!* They will eat *kachchi* prepared by a Brāhman, Kshatriya or Vaisya and will take *pakki* from a Sūdra. They will drink water from the hands of any of the four classes. The ascetic class do not marry; those who adopt a family life marry in their own sect. Some keep concubines and those who are of Sūdra origin allow widow marriage. Ascetics eat only once a day; the others twice. The use of tobacco, spirits and meat is prohibited. But some of the Udāsis smoke and use snuff. Those who have adopted a family life eat and drink according to the custom of the caste from which they originally sprang. They have cooking vessels like ordinary Hindus. They do not officiate as priests in Hindu temples. Their own temple is known as *sangat*, and the *granth* or sacred book of Nānak is worshipped there. Their chief place of pilgrimage is Amritsar, but they also go to Jaggannāth, Badrikārama, Setbandh Rameswar and Dwārika, where they worship the idols of the shrine. They salute each other with the phrase "*Jay Guru ki fateh!*" "Victory to the Teacher." Udāsis in saluting each other use the word *Dandwat* "obeisance." The Grihashtas and Mathdhāris, the family men and abbots are cremated; the bodies of the ascetic class are thrown into a river. Besides the Granth they revere the five deities (*Panchdeva*), Brahma, Vishnu, Siva and the Sākti. The duties of those who act as Gurus are to read the Scriptures, to ponder over the Vedānta philosophy, to give religious instruction according to the Upanishads, to give advice to their disciples. Whatever their disciples offer the Gurus take and in all religious matters they are consulted.

Nānbāi, Nānbā, Nānpāz.—(Persian *Nān* "bread") the baker caste. In the cities they call themselves Rotiwāla or Biskutwāla "biscuit maker." He either purchases flour himself, and sells English bread (*dabbaḷ roti*) or he cooks dishes prepared by his customers. All those recorded at the last census were Muhammadans. The

caste is, of course, entirely occupational and they intermarry freely with other Muhammadans.

Distribution of Nānbāis according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Meerut	89	Ghāzipur	64
Mathura	3	Gorakhpur	743
Agra	120	Azamgarh	58
Farrukhābād	135	Lucknow	243
Mainpuri	19	Unāo	48
Etāwah	71	Rāi Bareilly	12
Etah	10	Sitapur	38
Budāun	21	Hardoi	56
Morādābād	55	Kheri	13
Shahjahanpur	290	Bahrāich	32
Cawnpur	25	Sultānpur	22
Fatehpur	3	Partābgarh	11
Lalitpur	1	TOTAL	2,177

Nandwāni.¹—A sept of Oudh Rājputs, who were, in Sitapur, the predecessors of the Gaur Rājputs.

Naqshbandi, Naqshbandiya.—An order of Muhammadan Faqirs which was founded by Khwāja Pīr Muhammad Naqshband, whose tomb is in the Kasar-i-Urfān at Bukhāra. “This man and his father were both manufacturers of brocade, hence the name Naqshband or the ‘pattern maker.’” The sect was introduced into India by Shaikh Ahmad Sirbandi, whose priestly genealogy is traced back to Abu-Bakr, the first Khalifa. The Naqshbandis worship entirely by the *sikr-i-khāfi* or the ‘silent process,’ sitting perfectly calm and quiet, and repeating the Kalima under their breath. They often sit immersed in meditation (*muraqabah*), quite motionless, with the head bent, and the eye closed or fixed on the ground. All singing and music they utterly repudiate, and are

¹ Sitapur Settlement Report, 89.

extremely strict adherents of the institutes and traditions of orthodox Muhammadanism. The spiritual guides of the order do not sit apart from their disciples, but, ranging them in a circle, seat themselves by their sides, with a view of communicating their own mystic virtues to the minds of their followers by some sort of hidden magnetism.¹ They have a practice of going about begging with a lamp in their hands, whence the proverb *Chirāgh raushan murād hāsīl*, "The lamp is lighted and the wishes fulfilled."

Distribution of the Naqshbandis according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Sabāranpur . . .	7	Gorakhpur . . .	6
Muzaffarnagar . . .	1	Azamgarh . . .	491
Mainpuri . . .	92	Lucknow . . .	5
Etāwah . . .	13	Faizābād . . .	27
Pilibhīt . . .	1		
Allahābād . . .	15	TOTAL . . .	658

Narauliya.—An influential Rājput sept in Ghāzipur, who claim to be a branch of the Parihār, and to take their name from Narwar in Gwālior. They are among the earlier settlers and say that their ancestors killed the Chero Rāja, while he was in a state of intoxication, and occupied his dominions. They are inordinately proud, passionate, and extravagant, and have lost a large part of their ancestral property. They claim to belong to the *Kasyapa gotra*.²

Nat (Sanskrit *nata*, "a dancer,") a tribe of so-called gypsy dancers, acrobats, and prostitutes who are found scattered all over the Province. The problem of the origin and ethnological affinities of the Nats is perhaps the most perplexing within the whole range of the ethnography of Northern India, and the enquiries, of which

¹ *Bengal Census Report*, 1896.

² Oldham, *Ghāzipur Memo.*, I, 61.

³ Based on information collected at Mirzapur and notes by Bābu Badri-nāth, Deputy Collector, Kheri; M. Niyāz Ahmad, Fatehpur; A. B. Bruce, Esq., O. S., Ghāmpur; Bābu Sanwal Dās, Deputy Collector, Hardoi; M. Gopal Prasad, Naib Tahsildar, Etāwah; the Deputy Inspectors of Schools, Shāhjahanpur, Buddāun, Bij-nor.

the result is given here, leave its solution almost as uncertain as ever. The real fact seems to be that the name Nat is an occupational term which includes a number of different clans who have been grouped together merely on account of their common occupation of dancing, prostitution, and performance of various primitive industries.

2. The same people are found also beyond the boundaries of these Provinces. Thus they appear to be identical, at least in occupation, with the Kolhâtis of Bombay, who are also known as Dombari, and are "rope dancers and tumblers, as well as makers of the small buffalo horn pulleys which are used with cart ropes in fastening loads. They also make hide combs and gunpowder flasks. When a girl comes of age, she is called to choose between marriage and prostitution. If, with her parents' consent, she wishes to lead a married life, she is well taken care of and carefully watched. If she chooses to be a tumbler and a prostitute, she is taken before the caste council, a feast is given, and with the consent of the council she is declared a prostitute. The prostitutes are not allowed to eat with other Kolhâtis, except with their own children. Still, when they grow old, their caste-fellows support them. They worship Amba Bhawâni, Hanumân, Khandoba, and the cholera goddess Mariâi; but their favourite and, as they say, their only living gods are the bread-winners or hunger-scarers, the drum, the rope, and the balancing pole."¹

3. Of the same people in the Dakkhin, Major Gunthorpe² writes:—"The Kolhâtis belong to the great Sânsya family of robbers and claim their descent from Mallanûr, the brother of Sânsmai. There are two tribes, Dugar Kolhâtis and Kam or Pâl Kolhâtis. The former are a non-wandering criminal tribe, whereas the latter are a non-wandering criminal class. Depraved in morals, the males of both tribes subsist to a great extent by the prostitution of some of their females, though let it be said to the credit of the former that they are not so bad as the latter. They labour for themselves by cultivating land, by taking service as village watchmen, or by hiring themselves to villages to destroy that pest of Indian farmers, the wild hog, and above all they are professional robbers.

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, XX, 186, sq.

² *Notes on Criminal Tribes*, 46, sqq. The Kolhâtis take their name from Kolhât, the bamboo on which they perform.—*Bombay Gazetteer*, XII, 123, sq.

Kam Kolhâtis, on the other hand, are a lazy, good-for-nothing class of men who, beyond making a few combs and shuttles of bone, will set their hands to no class of labour, but subsist mainly by the immoral pursuits of their women. At every large fair may be seen some of the portable huts of this tribe, made of grass, the women decked in jewels and gaudy attire sitting at each door, whilst the men are lounging lazily at the back. The males of the Dukar Kolhâti tribe are a fine manly set of fellows, and obtain the distinction of Dukar, 'hog' from the fact of their hunting the wild, and breeding the domesticated pig."

4. Again we have in Bengal¹ a people known as Nar, Nat, Nartak or Nâtak, who form the dancing and musician class of Eastern Bengal; on the other hand many of the people whom in these Provinces we class as Nats, such as the Bâzigar, Sapera, and Kabûtri, are classed in Western Bengal with the Bediya, who in Northern India are undoubted kinsfolk of the Sânsya, Hâbûra, and similar vagrant races.

5. Lastly, of the same people in the Panjâb, Mr. Ibbetson² writes:—"The Nat, with whom I include the Bâzigar, form a gypsy tribe of vagrant habits, who wander about with their families, settling for a few days or weeks at a time in the vicinity of large villages or towns, and constructing temporary shelters of grass. In addition to practising acrobatic feats and conjuring of a low class, they make articles of grass, straw, and reeds for sale; and in the centre of the Panjâb are said to act as Mirâsis, though this is perhaps doubtful. They often practise surgery and physic in a small way, and are not free from suspicion of sorcery. They are said to be divided into two main classes, those whose males only perform as acrobats and those whose women, called Kabûtri, perform and prostitute themselves. About three-quarters of their number returned themselves as Hindus, and most of the rest as Musalmâns. They mostly marry by circumambulation (*phera*) and burn their dead; but they are really outcastes, keeping many dogs, with which they hunt and eat the vermin of the jungles. They are said especially to reverence the goddess Devi, Guru Tegh Bahâdur, the Guru of the Sikh scavengers, and Hanumân, or the monkey god, the last because of the acrobatic powers of monkeys. They very generally

¹ Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II 129.

² *Panjâb Ethnography*, section 588.

trace their origin to Mārẁār; and they are found all over the Province, except on the frontier, where they are almost unknown."

6. There seems, then, very little doubt that under the general name Nat are included various tribes; some of whom are closely allied to the vagrant, criminal races, like the Sānsyas, Beriyyas, and Hābūras; and as we shall find a well pronounced totemistic section system among some of the so-called sub-castes, it seems possible that they have decided Dravidian relationship.

7. As has been already stated, the tribal organization of the Nats is most complex. Everywhere they merge with the regular vagrant tribes, and where to draw the line is practically impossible. In the last Census, about two-thirds of the Nats in these Provinces declared themselves as Hindus and one-third as Muhammadans. Of the Hindus we find ten main sub-castes:—The Brijbāsi, who take their name from their supposed country of origin, Braj or Mathura, and its neighbourhood. Next come the Guāl or "cow-herds," some of whom claim a Jāt and others an Ahīr origin. The Jogila seem to be connected in name with the vagrant, criminal Jogis. The Kabūtara, who take their name from the pigeon (*kaḇūtar*), are prostitutes so-called from characteristic wooing of the bird. The Kalabāz is literally "a tumbler or juggler." The Karnātak is supposed to come from the Karnāta country, the modern Karnātic in Madras. The Mahāwat is so called from the Sanskrit *Mahāmātra*, "a great officer of state" or an "elephant driver," an occupation to which the word is now generally applied. The Mīrdaha is literally "a village ruler" (Persian, *mīrdaḥ*), and now-a-days the word is usually applied to a man who carries a chain for a surveyor. The Rāthaur is the name of a famous Rājput sept; and Sapera (Sanskrit, *sarpakāraka*) is literally "a snake catcher."

8. But this is far from exhausting the tribal organization of the Nats. Thus Mr. Carnegie¹ divides the Oudh Nats into eight sub-castes:—First, the Gwāliyāri Nats or those of Gwālior, with three sections, Kapūri, Bhātu and Sarwāni. Of these the Kapūri appear to take their name from the Sanskrit *karpura*, "camphor;" the Bhātu are seemingly the same as the Bhātu or Bhāntu, a sub-

¹ *Notes*, 17.

caste of the Sânsyas. The men of this sub-caste buy cattle for butchers, while the women are cuppers, dentists, and aurists. They are Hindus, bury their dead, and drink inordinately. Secondly, the Sânwât, who are Muhammadans. They also supply butchers, and sing the praises of Alha and Udal, the heroic Banâphar warriors, who were afterwards subject to the Râthaur, from whom this sub-caste claims descent. Thirdly, Brijbâsi, who are Hindus. The men walk on high stilts and the women show their confidence by dancing and singing under them. They eat pork, drink spirits and bury their dead. They say that they came to Braj or Mathura after the capture of Chithor, which is the starting point of the traditions of so many other castes. Fourthly, the Bachgoti, who are Hindus and connected by Mr. Carnegy with the Râjput sept of the same name. The men wrestle and play single stick; the women are depraved. They bury their dead. Fifthly, the Bijaniya or Bajaniya, who seem to take their name from the music (*bâja*) accompanying their performances. They are Hindus and dance on the tight rope. They are addicted to drinking; they bury their dead in an upright position. Sixthly, the Bariya, who are Hindus. They do not perform, but attend feasts and eat scraps. The women are depraved and all are addicted to drinking. They bury their dead. Seventhly, the Mahâwat, who are Musalmâns by religion. They are said to be expert in treating rheumatism and deal in cattle. Drinking is confined to the seniors on the occasion of deaths. Lastly come the Bâzigar, or common conjurers, who are given to drinking. They bury their dead.

9. In addition to this enumeration the present survey has produced a long set of diverse lists from different districts. The confusion, as already indicated, seems to have sprung from the practical impossibility of distinguishing the Nat from his allies, the Sânsyas and similar tribes. Thus, in Mirzapur we find the Bajaniya, Byâdha, Karnâtak, Kashmîri, Kalabâz, Mahâwat, Bâdi and Malâr. From Shâhjahânpur comes a list of Hindu sub-castes, including the Bhântu, who are Sânsyas, with the Guâl, Ghara, Kalabâz, Kabûtariya, and Lakarbâz, or performers on stilts. From Kherâwe find the Bhatiya, who are perhaps the Bhâtu of Shâhjahânpur; the Kingariya, who are discussed in a separate article; the Kanjar, who, of course, forms a tribe of his own; the Gulahla, Kalabâz, Râjnat, and Dhârhi, who again are usually classed as a quite different group. The list from Budâon gives Guâl and

Brajbâsi, with, as sections, the Kakhera or Kanghigar, "comb makers," and the Banjâra, where we meet a distinct group. In Hardoi we find the Kalabâz, Karnâtak, Brijbâsi, and Bâgula; in Bijnor, the Bâdi, Guâl, and Keutâr, the last of whom are possibly connected with the Kewats. The sub-castes of the Muhammadan Nats are much less well established. In Ghâzipur we find the Panjâbi, Goriya, and Hagiya; in Fatehpur, the Meghiya, Dariya, Chhijaiya, and Krîm or Karîm.

10. The complete Census returns show 386 sections of the Hindu and 205 of the Musalmân Nats. They have, as might have been expected, largely adopted the names belonging to other castes and sects, such as Bhântu, Chamargautam, Chamarmangta, Chamar-nat, Chamar Sangla, Chamarwa, Chandel, Chauhân, Chhatri, Dhîmar, Dhoqi, Dom, Ghosi, Gond, Gûjar, Guâl, Guâl bans, Jâdon, Kâbuli, Kanchan, Kâyasth, Khatri, Kori, Korwa, Kormangta, Mainpuri Chauhân, Panwâr, Paturiya, Râjput, Râthaur, Sakarwâr, Teli. With these are the usual local groups: Brijbâsi, Chithauriya, Daryâbâdi, Gangapâri, Indauriya, Jaiswâr, Jaypuriya, Kanaujiya, Kâshipuri, Lâhauri, Mathuriya, Panjâbi, Râmpuriya, Sribâstam. The Musalmân branch show an equally curious mixture of names. We have many distinctively Hindu titles as Bâhman, Bais, Bhadauriya, Chauhân, Gaur, Gûjar, Râthaur, and Tomar; regular Musalmân names like Chisti, Ghori, Khwâja Mansûri, Khwâja Miyân, Lodi, Mughal, Nawâb, Naumuslim, Pathân, Sadîqi, Shaikh, Turkiya, and Yûsufzai; occupational terms and those connecting them with other gypsy tribes, such as Bâzigar, Beriya, Bûchar, ("Butcher"), Dom, Fîlwân ("elephant driver"), Kanchan, Mangta, ("beggar"), Pahlwân ("wrestler"), Randi ("prostitute"), Sânpwâla and Saperâ ("snake men"), and Tawâif.

11. The information at present available is much more complete for the Eastern Nats, and it may be well to describe some of their sub-castes

with more or less detail.

12. The Bajaniya Nats of Mirzapur have seven sections, which are obviously of totemistic origin. These are

The Bajaniya Nats. Makriyâna which take their name from *makrî*, "a spider," which no member of the section will kill; Gauharna, which are called from *goñ* the Gangetic alligator or lizard known as the *goñ sânp*, which none of them will harm; Deodinâik or "leader given by God," the members of this section are generally

headmen (*okaudhari*) of the tribe; Bahunaina or "the fly," which takes its name from having many eyes; this insect none of them will injure; Gagoliya of which they are unable to give any explanation; Sānpaneriya, none of whom will kill the snake (*sānp*); and Sūganāik, none of whom will injure the parrot (*suga*). These sections are exogamous, but there is no other prohibition against intermarriage, and it is notorious that Nats marry very close blood relations. They say that they were originally residents of Mārwar, and passed into Mirzapur through Bundelkhand. The migration is said to have occurred about a century ago. They have no other tribal tradition, except that they were created by Parameswar, whose pleasure it was that they should be acrobats and rope-dancers.

13. They have their own council known as Panth, presided over by a head man (*mutāna*), who is assisted by a messenger (*harkāra*), whose business is to collect the elders for meetings. No woman can be divorced for simple adultery. Her paramour is merely fined five rupees, which is spent on drinking. They cannot marry again while the first wife is alive. They purchase brides, the price according to tribal custom being twenty-five rupees in cash, four rupees worth of sugar, one rupee worth of pulse (*dāl*), one rupee worth of *ghi*, two rupees worth of wheat, some turmeric and cakes.

14. Concubinage is not allowed. Widows can marry by the ordinary form, which they call *ghughuna*. When the connection is sanctioned by the headman, the future husband goes to the house of the widow, puts bangles and a nose-ring of silver on the woman. Her friends then take the pair into a closed room, where they are left some time to themselves, and in the meantime wine is served round to the brethren. Next morning the husband takes his wife home, and the business is over. The levirate is allowed on the usual conditions; if she marry a stranger, she loses all right to the goods of her first husband.

15. A Chamārīn midwife attends the mother only for one day. The mother is kept secluded for six days with a fire and a box of iron for holding lamp-black (*kajranta*) near her. The ceremony on the sixth day is known as *huabar*. The mother bathes and then goes to the nearest well with the bosom of her sheet full of parched grain, with four pice, some powdered sugar and ginger, and two roots of turmeric. When she comes to the well, she lights a lamp, and collecting the lamp-black in her iron box, marks several lines

with it and some vermilion on an earthen pot, and puts red lead on the parting of the hair of the women who go with her. She bows in obeisance to the well and returns home, where the parched grain is distributed among her women friends. At the same time the father serves round wine to his male friends, and after that the mother is considered pure.

16. The betrothal is settled by the father of the boy paying five rupees to the girl's father, which is spent on wine for the brethren. A feast is given and the father of the bride sends a bead necklace and a handkerchief for his future son-in-law.

17. When the wedding day is fixed, the bride-price is sent in advance. This is usually five days before the wedding, and during that time the pair are kept at their own houses in a thatched shed in the courtyard. This shed, contrary to the usual Hindu custom, is surrounded with screens. We have here probably a survival of the custom of seclusion at puberty. Every day the pair are anointed with turmeric and oil. A friend takes the bridegroom on his shoulder to the house of the bride, and when they reach her door her relatives make a square, in each corner of which a brass *lota* is placed. A pice is put into each *lota*, and the four vessels are joined with a string. Into this enclosure the pair are led, and inside it they make five circuits. This is the binding part of the ceremony. The bride returns to the house and the bridegroom to his friends. That night is spent in eating and drinking, and next morning the bride puts on a dress purchased out of the bride price. The pair stand at the door, and the bride's mother waves a plough yoke (*jua*) over their heads for good luck. Then the bride and bridegroom are taken home on the shoulders of two male friends. At the door the boy's mother again waves a plough yoke over them, and the boy, seizing the yoke, runs and demolishes with it the nuptial shed (*mandiro*) in the courtyard. This concludes the marriage.

18. They bury their dead in their own cemetery. When a person dies they put a copper coin in his mouth as a viaticum. The corpse is taken on a bier and buried with the head to the north and the feet to the south. When the grave is filled, they pour some wine on the ground, and they do the same at the house of the deceased, where wine is served round when they return after the burial. The ceremonies for the repose of the soul are done some months later, when they can afford to do so. They go to the river side and cook cakes, rice, and pulse. Then they spread a cloth

on the ground, on which the ghost is supposed to sit, and the nearest relative taking an earthen cup (*purwa*) and a knife in his hand plunges into the water. He puts the knife on the cup and sits down till the cup, which is placed on his head, gets full of water. This cup full of water he brings out and places under the cloth on which the ghost is supposed to be sitting. Again he places four cups of water, one at each corner of the cloth, and connects them with a thread so as to form a square. In the enclosure thus formed they place a little of each kind of food for the refreshment of the ghost, and pray to it to partake of the food. They then wait for a few minutes while it is supposed to be eating, and then they address it: "Go and join those who have departed before you." Until this ceremony is performed, the ghost will not pass quietly to the world of the dead. They have no idea of ceremonial impurity, resulting from death.

19. Their tribal deities are Hulki Mâi, the goddess of cholera, the Vindhyabâsim Devi, Durga-Kâli, and Parameswar. They worship these collectively every year when they return from their annual wanderings. This worship is done in the family kitchen and the only sacrifice is a he-goat with sweet bread and wine. This is their chief festival, and is done either on the tenth (*dasmîn*) of Kâttik or at the *Holi*. Whenever, during the year, any trouble comes upon them, they make a special offering of sweet bread and wine to the deified ancestors, all of which, after presentation, they consume themselves.

20. They regard the Dom and the Hela with special dislike. They do not eat beef or vermin, such as rats; but they eat fowls, fish of every kind, crocodiles, tortoises, and the *nîlgâë* deer. They drink spirits and use *gânja*, *bhang*, and palm wine (*târi*), but not opium. No respectable Hindu will take food or drink from their hands. They will eat food prepared by any one except a Dhobi, Pâsi, Dharkâr, Dom, or Chamâr. The men wear short drawers (*janghiya*) turban (*pagri*), a necklace of white beads (*guriya*), and earrings (*bâli*). The women wear a petticoat (*lahnga*), boddice (*choli*), black and white bead necklace and ear-rings.

21. The men are rope-dancers and acrobats. The women beg and prostitute themselves. They usually live in out-of-the-way hamlets away from the village, and during the cold and hot weather they wander about from fair to fair and to the houses of rich people, usually sleeping under trees in the course of their journeys.

22. The Byâdha are another tribe of these vagrants. They

The Byâdha Nats. . . take their name from the Sanskrit *Vyâdha*.

"a hunter." They are a short, black race, with very large dark eyes, very black hair, which they keep long and unkempt, short beard, whiskers and mustache, and a short, rather broad, nose. Those of Mirzapur are unable to name any of their exogamous sections, and their rules of intermarriage are very vague. They do not even maintain the ordinary formula that the line of the paternal uncle (*châcha*), maternal uncle (*mâmu*), paternal aunt (*phûphû*), and maternal aunt (*mâosi*) are to be avoided. In short, they have practically no prohibited degrees. Thus a man will marry his son to his own sister's daughter, to his maternal aunt's daughter, and so on.

23. The marriage negotiations are carried on by the maternal uncle (*mâmu*) of the boy, a custom which may be a survival of the matriarchate. Sometimes one of the meaner Brâhman goes with the envoy. When the match is settled the boy's maternal uncle, brother-in-law, and some of his female relations go to the house of the bride and pay the bride price, which consists of twenty rupees in cash, a set of glass bangles (*chûî*), a cocoanut, a betelnut, and a suit of clothes. These things are given to the mother of the bride. They return after fixing the marriage day. A pavilion (*mâuro*) is erected at the boy's house, and next day he starts for the bride's house. They have no regular Purohit or family priest, but the lucky dates for these events are ascertained from some village Brâhman. All the relations, including the women, which is absolutely opposed to all Hindu usage, accompany the procession. On that day the bride's father entertains the whole party with goat's flesh and rice.

24. When the time comes for the marriage, the bridegroom takes his seat in the pavilion with the bride seated beside him, her mother shading her face with the end of her sheet. Then the bride's female relations rub the pair vigorously with a mixture of oil and turmeric. This is done three times while the ceremony goes on. The binding part of the rite is the rubbing of the parting of the bride's hair with red lead, which is done by the brother-in-law of the bridegroom, the husband of his sister. This is, of course, contrary to all Hindu usage; the boy usually does this rite himself. During the marriage the girl's father performs no rite, which again is very unorthodox. They have no retiring-room

(*kohabar*) ceremony as among low Hindu castes. When the marriage is over, her father dresses the bride in new clothes, gives her a *lota*, and sends her off at once with her husband. The age for marriage is fifteen for boys and ten or twelve for girls: as a rule it takes place immediately when the pair have attained puberty.

25. Widows are married by the *sagdi* form and the levirate prevails under the usual condition that she marry the younger, not the elder, brother of her late husband. If the younger brother do not claim her, she may marry an outsider with leave of the tribal council. Nothing is paid to the parents of the widow. Her lover is expected to give a goat to the council. When this is done, he puts some oil on the widow's head, while her sister's husband (*bahnai*) rubs red lead on the parting of her hair. He then takes her off to his house.

26. At child-birth the mother is isolated and attended by the Chamârin midwife. After the fifth day is the *chhatki* or sixth-day rite when the brethren (*dâma*), men and women, are fed. The Chamârin, who is known as *soin*, bathes the mother and baby, and gives their clothes and those of the other members of the household to a Dhobi. All the men have their hair shaved. The birth pollution ceases on the twelfth day (*barahi*), when the mother and child are bathed again. The husband keeps away from his wife for twenty days after her confinement. The Chamârin among these people plasters the delivery-room,—a duty which, among other Hindus, is usually done by the husband's sister (*nanad*). The menstrual pollution lasts for five days, during which the woman is isolated, and her husband cooks for her.

27. These Nats say that they came originally from Ratanpur and Bilâspur in the Central Provinces. They bury their dead, not in a regular cemetery, but in any convenient place north of the village. The grave lies North and South, and they profess not to care in which direction the corpse is laid. A woman is buried face upwards and a man face downwards. After the burial, they all bathe and return to the house of the deceased, where they sit for a while in the courtyard, wash their hands, and then go home. No food is cooked in the house that day; the family are fed by a neighbour. On the tenth day the brethren assemble at some tank or stream and have their heads shaved. No sacred balls (*pinda*) are offered. They return to the house of mourning and there they are feasted. If the son of the deceased can afford it, he gives a cup

and plate (*lota, thāli*) and a female calf to a Brāhman. This concludes the death rite.

28. All who can afford it have an annual propitiation of the dead (*barsi*). They do not on this occasion feed the brethren, but give a Brāhman some brass vessels. Then he stands up and raising his hands says :—" Children of the dead man ! Live in happiness !" They have no regular fortnight of the dead (*pitrapakṣa*), and no *śrāddha*.

29. In the month of Sāwan, they worship Hariyāli Devi, " the goddess of greenery," who watches the crops. To her a fire offering (*hom*) is made in the field with sugar and *ghi*. In Phālgun they burn the old year (*sambat jalāna*)¹ when they drink and eat good food. They observe no other Hindu festival except the Phagua or Holi. On some day in the light fortnight of Aṣārh, they worship their deceased ancestors (*puṛāṅkṣ log*). They make a fire offering with sugar and *ghi*, and sprinkle a little spirits on the ground. This worship is done by the head of the family at home. Their tribal deity is Bhawāni Devi, who is worshipped every third year in the light fortnight of Phālgun. To her is offered a black goat, which is fed on rice before being sacrificed. The worshipper does the sacrifice himself. When sickness or other trouble comes upon them they sometimes get the Baiga to sacrifice a goat to the village gods (*deoḥār*). Men and women both eat the flesh of the victims to Bhawāni. She has no temple, but most people make a stone or mud platform near their houses, where she is supposed to dwell. When they eat, they throw a little food and water on the ground for the ancestral ghosts, and say—" If any of you are hungry, come and eat."

30. The women of this tribe do not tattoo ; this is done by the Bādi Nats. The women get themselves tattooed with little spots on both wrists : but the custom is not well defined. If an unmarried woman is caught in an intrigue with a member of the caste, the council order him to pay twenty rupees to her father, and she is then made over to him by a sort of informal marriage. In the same way, if a married woman is caught with a man her paramour pays the husband twenty rupees and takes over the lady. If her lover be of another caste she is permanently expelled. They profess to have stringent rules to enforce chastity among their women, but they are not free from the suspicion of occasionally prostituting their girls. They have no occupation but begging, and do not dance, play, sing,

or perform acrobatic feats. Their women wear glass bangles (*chāri*), bead necklaces (*guriya*) of all colours, anklets (*pairi*) and arm ornaments (*churila*). They do not wear nose-rings. They will eat all ordinary meat except beef, monkeys, horses, tame pigs, and snakes. They swear by the words : "If I lie, may I eat beef," or on their sons' heads; or they fill a *lota* of water and swear by Kansāsūr Deota, "the godling of brass." Until a child is five or six years old they do not care what he eats ; but when he arrives at that age he is obliged to conform to caste custom, and to commemorate this event, if they can afford it, they put a silver bangle on his wrist.

31. This sub-caste of Nats is quite distinct from the Bajaniya, but they have the same sections, Gohna or The Karnātak Nats. Gouharna, Makriyāna, Sugaṇāik, Deodināik, Gagoliya, Sānpaneriya and Waniawaraha. These are exogamous ; but like all Nats they are very careless about prohibited degrees, and first cousins are allowed to marry. The highest section is the Deodināik, and then follow the Sugaṇāik, Gohna, Gagoliya and Sānpaneriya. Some of them are Hindus and some Muhammadans. Those who are Hindus worship the Vindhyabāsini Devi of Bindhāchal or Durga. They will eat the leavings of all high castes and are hence known as Khushhāliya or "those in prosperous circumstances." They dance on ropes and with cow horns tied to their feet ; their women do not tattoo other women. Some of the better looking girls are reserved for prostitution, and these are never married in the tribe. One condition of marriage among them is that both parties should be of the same age. The Muhammadan branch in Etāwah allow the levirate, and a widow can marry either the elder or younger brother of her late husband. There, it is said, they will admit any one into the tribe except a Bhangi, Dhānuk, Chamār, Teli, Dhobi or Bāri. When the initiate is not a Muhammadan they send for the Qāzi, who recites the *Kalima* over him. A girl who is seduced, whether her paramour be a tribesman or not, can be restored to caste rights on payment of a fine ; but if her lover be a low caste man, like a Dom or Dharkār, she is permanently expelled. If her lover be a Brāhman or Rājput, she is admitted back, and can be married in the caste.

32. These people have no occupation except loafing, begging, and prostituting their women. Very few Kashmīri Nats, of the women are married in the tribe, and even the married women are sometimes prostituted. Most of their

real wives are girls of other castes, who are bought by them or kidnapped. This is a costly and dangerous business; hence the number of old bachelors among them is very large. When they do marry in the tribe they observe no prohibited degrees and marry cousins. No regard is paid to the paternity of their children. Some of them are Hindus and some Muhammadans. The Hindus employ low Brāhmans as their priests, and burn their dead. The Muhammadans bury. Hindus worship their ancestors in the month of Kuâr, and to the east of the Province their favourite deities are the Vindhyabâsini Devi of Bindhâchal and Garbara Devi. These are worshipped in the month of Aghan with the sacrifice of a goat and an offering of cakes and sweetmeats. The Hindu branch do not eat beef and pork. They eat mutton, goat's flesh, venison, and the like. They will not eat the flesh of the horse, camel, jackal or rats. The Muhammadans do not eat pork, but use beef and drink spirits. They eat the camel and fowls and the other animals which the Hindu branch of the tribe eat.

33. This branch of the Nats has exogamous sections, but few of them are able to give a list of them. In
 The Kalabâz or Gara Nats. Hardoi their sections are Savâi, Ghughasiya, Panchhiya, Jimichhiya. Their tradition is that they were once Kshatriyas, and were forced to deny their caste when Alâ-ud-dîn conquered Chithor in 1303 A.D. Another account of them is that their first ancestor was a Dhînwar, and that they were begotten by him from a Teli woman. They wander about the country in rude huts (*sirki*) made of reeds. To the east of the Province they appear to conduct their marriages in one of these huts with a rude form of the circumambulation (*bhanwari*) ceremony. They have a strange legend that Parameswar was once incarnated as a Nat at Sambhal in the Morâdâbâd District, and became such an accomplished acrobat that in one bound he fixed a cart and in a second some mill stones in a tree which no Kalabâz has been since able to take down. Their occupation is rope-dancing and other acrobatic feats. They are fairly strict Hindus, and are said not to prostitute their women. In Oudh their favourite deity seems to be Hardeo or Har-daur Lâla, the godling of cholera. From Etah it is reported that a distinction is drawn between the Baghaliya Nats, who dance on ropes, and the Kalabâz, who do somersaults and other athletic feats. They are very fond of singing the Alha song to the accompaniment of the drum. During the rains these people move about from vil-

lage to village. It is understood that only one party encamps in the village at a time, and no other party is allowed to intrude on them until the performance is over. Wilful intrusion of this kind is severely punished by the tribal council. Even if any other body of Nats perform there, the fees go to the party which is first in possession of the place. The women do not perform or dance, sing or beg. They have regular circles within each of which the bones of the dead of the tribe are buried under a masonry platform, as is the rule among the Hâbûras, and to these the tribal worship is performed.

34. The Mahâwat Nats take their name from the Sanskrit

Mahâmātra "a high officer of state" or "an elephant driver." They say themselves that

The Mahâwat Nats.

keeping elephants was their original occupation, and that from this they derive their name. They are also known as Baid, "physician;" (Sanskrit *Vaidya*) and Lohângi, because they use surgical instruments of iron (*loha*) in treating their patients. They say that they are divided into four endogamous sub-castes; Turkata Pahlwân, Kapariya, Chamarmangta and Lohângi Nats. Of these the first and fourth are Muhammadans and the second and third Hindus. The Turkata Pahlwâns teach wrestling and athletic exercises and their women tattoo. The Kapariyas are dealt with in a separate article. The Chamarmangta are so called because they beg (*māngna*) from Chamârs. In Mirzapur the true Lohângi Nats marry second cousins. They fix their earliest settlement at Kara Mânikipur on the Ganges. They say that they are descended from Hathîla who has now been deified as one of the Pânchon Pîr. They worship him with prayers and the sacrifice of a fowl in the month of Jeth. This worship is done by Dafâlis, who, while they make the offering sing songs in honour of Hathîla. The proper offering to him is a red cock. This sacrifice is offered only by married men, and they alone are allowed to consume the offering.

35. Their domestic ceremonies are of much the usual Nat type. They pay as a bride-price twenty or some multiple of twenty rupees. Infidelity in women is punished by a compulsory feast, and similarly a man is put out of caste if he cohabit or eat with a Domin or women of the menial tribes. They have a tribal council, the chairman of which is appointed at each sitting. The levirate and widow marriage are allowed under the usual conditions. Even when they profess to be Muhammadans, it is alleged that they perform no rite

of circumcision (*musalmān*). They have practically no marriage ceremony. The girl's father attires her in a new dress, puts bangles and ear-ornaments (*arkā*) on her and then she is sent into the hut where her husband receives her. If he can afford it, he feeds the brethren. They bury their dead in any convenient place. When they bury a corpse, they put his tools with him, so that he may be able to support himself in the next world. When any one falls sick, they sacrifice fowls at the graves of their ancestors and make an offering of spirits and tobacco.

36. They are nominally Muhammadans, but carry out hardly any of the rules of the faith. They worship the goddess known as Bhītari and Sâyari, and their deified ancestor Hathīla. Bhītari is worshipped on a Monday or Tuesday in the fields with a sacrifice of goats, which only the married males are allowed to eat. She is the protectress of their camp and children. Sâyari is the patroness of their trade and is worshipped in the tent or hut with an offering of a black cock and some spirits. The Devi of Bindhāchal also receives the sacrifice of a goat. The only festival which they observe is the Kajari, when they sing, drink, and practise a good deal of rude licentiousness. They have the usual fear of ghosts and demons. When a child suffers from the Evil Eye, they get a handful of dust from an exorcisor, and wave it over the child's head. They drink spirits, eat beef, goat's flesh, mutton, fowls, camels, venison, etc. They abstain from pork. They will not eat from the hands of a Dom, Dhobi, Musahar, Kol, or similar low castes, and no one will eat their food.

37. The Mahāwat has all the appearance of a degraded outcaste. He wears dirty clothes and a filthy rag as a turban, keeps his hair long and unkempt, and has round his neck strings of coral beads or *ghumri* seeds. In his ears he wears iron rings. The women wear a petticoat (*lahnga*), sheet (*āri*), with strings of beads round their necks, bracelets, and thick anklets. The men carry in a wallet rude lances (*nashṭar*), a cupping horn (*singhi*), and some hollow bamboo pipes, with which he extracts by suction the matter out of abscesses and sore ears. It need hardly be said that he is quite ignorant of cleanliness and antiseptics, and his instruments must be responsible for much horrible infection. He takes the "worm" out of carious teeth, bleeds and lances abscesses, and cleans the wax out of ears, in which department of his business he is known as Kānmailiya (*Kān* "ear," *mailiya*, "filth"), Khutkarha or Khuntkarha, "the man of

the spike" (*khānta*) or Singhiwāla. He wanders about the villages calling out *Baid ! Baid !* "Who wants a doctor?" He is altogether rather a loathsome vagrant. Some of them are skilled fishermen and trap hares.

38. The Bâdi sub-caste of Nats are said to take their name from the Sanskrit *vādya*, "a musical instrument." The Bâdi Nats. They are also known as Pâras Bâdi (*pâras*, "the philosopher's stone") and Tumriwāla Madâri (*tumri*, "a hollow gourd"). In Mirzapur they specially beg among the Mânjhis. They profess to have seven exogamous sections. These, when compared with those of the Mânjhi-Majhwârs, are, in many cases, identical, and they explain that like the Patâris they were priests of the Majhwârs. It will be seen that the Patâris also follow the section organization of the Majhwârs, and there must apparently have been some ancient connection between the tribes. As might have been expected, the explanation given of these section names is in some respect different from that of either the Mânjhis or Patâris, but there seems little doubt that they are in the main of totemistic origin. The names of the sections, as given by the Mirzapur Bâdis, are Jaghat, which they say is a kind of snake; Urê, which they say means "a pig"; Marai, "a kind of tree;" Neta, which they say means "the mucus of the nose," in which form they came out of the nose of their first ancestor. The Neshtri was one of the Vedic priests, and the name may represent their ancient office, but is more probably some totem which has now been forgotten. The next section is Netâm, which is found among the Majhwârs. Of its meaning the Bâdis can give no explanation. Jhinjhariya is said by them to mean "a kind of bamboo." Next comes the Oika section. This is also found among the Majhwârs. The Bâdis have an absurd story that a Bâdi woman had a son by a Muhammadan, and after they had admitted him to tribal rights, they called him Oika "What? Who?" because they could not admit him to any regular section.

39. Their account of themselves is that they came from Garh Mandla in the Central Provinces, with the Majhwârs, and there is nothing in their appearance and manners which makes it improbable that they may really be of Gond descent, and may have been beggar priests who accompanied the Majhwârs when they emigrated along the hills towards the East.

40. The legend of their connection with the Majhwârs they

tell in this way :—Mahâdeva Pâba once created four men. To one he gave the musical instrument known as *nâgdaman* or “snake pipe,” with which serpents are expelled, and his own drum, the *damaru*, whereby they might earn their living by playing and begging ; to the second, he gave the musical instrument known as the *kikari*, by playing which he might support himself ; to the third, he gave a loom, and he became a Panka ; to the fourth, he gave the means of smelting iron, and he became an Agariya. This legend thus brings the Bâdis into contact with the Agariyas and Pankas who are certainly of I ravidian origin. The first man, according to the story, came to the Majhwârs, who fed him and appointed him to be the receiver of their alms. These sections are divided into three groups, of whom the Jaghat, Marai, and Jinjbhariya intermarry ; so do the Urê and Neti, and, lastly, the Netâm and the Oika.

41. They have a tribal council under a hereditary chairman (*mahto*), who arranges marriages, sanctions divorces and fines those who offend against caste rules. The fine ranges, according to the means of the offenders, from one and quarter to twenty rupees. If he fail to pay the fine, he is excommunicated for twelve years. The intermarriage of first-cousins is allowed, and they marry by preference their cousins on the mother’s side.

42. Widow marriage and the levirate are allowed. There is no ceremony in widow marriage, except that the Mahto admonishes them in the presence of the brethren to behave well to each other. In the marriage ceremony there is nothing peculiar, except that the father or mother of the bride washes the feet of the bridegroom, a rite which is known as *nah chhorwa*. When the bridegroom goes to fetch his bride, he carries a bow and arrows, and most part of the rite is done at the house of the bridegroom, possibly a survival of marriage by capture.

43. The Bâdis of Mirzapur cremate their dead, unless they are unmarried, in which case they are buried. The ritual is practically the same as that in force among the Majhwârs.

44. The religion of the Bâdis is largely made up of ancestor worship. They offer to them, at the Holi, goats, cakes, and sweet-meats, as a propitiation. They say that formerly the Patâris officiated as their priests, but now do so no longer. They accept no services from Brâhmans. Their chief objects of worship, except their deceased ancestors, are Juâlamukhi, Bûrhi Mâta “the old mother” and Masân, the deity of the cremation-ground. Juâlamu-

khi and Bûrhi Mâta are worshipped on the seventh day of Sâwan. Juâlamukhi receives a she-goat and cakes; Bûrhi Mâta, a libation of milk and treacle mixed together. This worship is performed in the court-yard of the house. They worship Masân at any time when trouble overtakes the household. At the last Census 1,929 persons recorded themselves as worshippers of Masân.¹ They also regard their snake pipe (*nâgdâman*) as a fetish. A piece of ground is plastered, the instrument laid within it, and a white cock is sacrificed. Some spirits is also poured on the ground. Mari is worshipped when cholera appears in the village. She receives the sacrifice of a hog and a libation of spirits. When snakes appear in considerable numbers, they lay milk and parched rice at their holes. They observe only three festivals, the Sâwani, when they worship Juâlamukhi and Bûrhi Mâta; the ninth (*naumi*) of Chait, when there is a worship of Bûrhi Mâta, and the Holi, when they worship the sainted dead. They particularly respect the cotton tree (*samal*) which is the abode of Bhûts. They swear on the head of their sons or by holding a pig's tail at the shrine of their deity. They have a special detestation for the Dom. They will not eat beef, but they use all the animals, birds, and fish which are eaten by the Majhwârs and similar Dravidian races. They will not eat meat while the funeral rites of a member of the sub-caste are being performed. Wine is the only intoxicant they habitually use. They salute one another by the *pâélagi* form, and seniors give a blessing to their juniors. Only Korwas and Doms will eat from their hands. They will eat *Kachhi* cooked by Ahîrs and Majhwârs. The women wear a sheet (*sâri*) nose-rings, ear ornaments (*tarkî*) and arm ornaments, known as *lahsanîya churla* and heavy anklets (*puiri*.)

45. The Bâdi is a loafing beggar, who wanders about among the Majhwârs and begs alms, playing on the *nâgdâman* pipe, the drum (*damaru*) and the cymbals (*jhânjh*). The special business of the women is tattooing girls, and when marching through villages you will often hear a girl shrieking, and, on enquiring the cause you will find her tied down on a bed, while her friends sing to encourage her to bear the pain, and a Bâdi woman operates on her arms, breasts or legs, with two or three English needles tied together with thread. The punctures are rubbed with a mixture of lampblack and milk. The best lampblack is produced from the smoke of the wood of the *salai* tree.

¹ For Masân see Introduction to Popular Religion and Folklore, 84.

46. This sub-caste is said to take its name from the Sanskrit, *mallaka-kāra*, "the maker of a cocoanut-oil vessel." Those in Mirzapur refer their origin to Lohārdaga in Chota Nāgpur, and say that they were originally Sunārs. They even now procure Brāhmans and barbers from that part of the country whence they say they emigrated some two generations ago. They have their own tribal council known as *Kutumb bhāi* or "the family of the brethren," with a president (*mahto*). Offences against caste discipline are punished by fines usually amounting to twelve or thirteen rupees. This is spent in food and drink for members.

47. The prohibited degrees are first-cousins on both sides. The usual age for marriage is twelve, or when the pair attain puberty. Marriages are arranged by the friends on both sides, but runaway matches appear not to be uncommon. The price of the bride is fixed by tribal custom at sixteen rupees. Polygamy is allowed, and the only privilege of the senior wife is that she alone is allowed to perform the worship of the family gods. Infidelity in women is forgiven on a fine being paid to the council. The council has the power of ordering divorce and a divorced woman can be remarried in the caste by the *sagdi* form, after she provides a dinner for the brethren. Widow marriage and the levirate are permitted under the usual conditions. Their domestic ceremonies are much the same as those of the Majhwārs, among whom they live.

48. They are Hindus by religion and their tribal deities are Kāli, Būrhi Māi and Bhairon. They worship Kāli at the Naurātra of Chait in the house chapel (*deoghar*) with an offering of a goat, and cakes, milk, and wine. Bhairon receives the same offering, but to him a blood offering is very seldom made. The women have no gods peculiar to themselves. They fast on Sundays and offer to the sun godling, Sūraj Nārāyan, rice boiled with milk in a new earthen pot. They bow to him as he rises in the morning. They also bow to the new moon, but have no special form of worship. They occasionally consult a Sakadwīpi Brāhman, but the real tribal priest is the Mahto or headman. He acts for them at marriages and deaths. Most houses have a chapel (*deoghar*) with a mound of earth, on which are rude representatives of the tribal gods. They swear on the feet of Brāhmans, on a leaf of the *pīpal* tree or *tulasi* leaf, by holding a cow's tail or a piece of copper. They worship Hariyāri Devi, "the goddess of greenery," as the protectress of crops.

49. They eat pork, mutton, goat's flesh, venison, fowls, and fish.

Before they eat, they offer a little food to Devi. No one but a Dom will eat food cooked by them, and they will eat and drink from the hands of Kharwârs and Majhwârs.

50. Their chief occupation is making brass or pewter rings, boxes to hold the lime used in chewing betel (*chunauti*), and various ornaments used by women.

51. From Etah it is reported that among the Guâl Nats, when a child is born, the clansmen are invited to be present at the naming rite. Food is distributed, but the attendance of a Brâhman is unnecessary. Among the Kalabâz Nats, a Brâhman is sent for on the tenth day after birth, and he names the child, receiving in return a ration of uncooked grain (*âdha*).

52. There is a class of Nats known as Tasmabâz, who are so called because they practise one of the numerous games played by thimble-riggers in England, which was taught to them in 1802 by a British soldier.¹ The game is played thus:—A strap is doubled and folded up in different shapes. The art is to put the stick in such a place that the strap (*tasma*), whence they derive their name, when unfolded, comes out double. They have an argot of their own of which the following are examples:—When they are sitting on the road side and see a yokel coming, they say *Dhuragi*; *Taradé* means "to begin to play;" *Asradé*, "give back the money to this fellow or he will make a row;" *Hakeri*, "a European;" *banriwâla* "a policeman;" *Hanwâla*, "a mounted officer;" *Thoa*, "an official;" *Beli* means "one of the gang informing." In one of the earliest accounts of the Bâzigar Nats, Captain Richardson² gives some specimens of their patois, most of which consist of mere inversions of syllables. Thus, *Kâg* (*âg*), "fire;" *nâns* (*bâns*), "bamboo;" *koât* (*yâd*), "remembrance;" *komar* (*umr*), "age;" *nalâsh* (*talâsh*), "search;" *Kindustân* (*Hindustân*), "India;" *nagîr* (*faqîr*) "beggar;" and so on. The Bajaniya Nats of Mirzapur call mother *jâ*; son, *dikaro*; wife, *biari*; brother-in-law, *banhewi*; father-in-law, *hâro*; mother-in-law, *kau*; elder brother's wife, *bhadai*; father's sister, *phoi*. Their numerals are—one *ek*, two *baidn*, three *tâna*, four *syurna*, five *pân*, six *sad*, seven *hâl*, eight *âth*, nine *nau*, ten *dahad*.

¹ Selection, Records of Government, North-Western Provinces, I, 312, sq.

² Asiatic Researches, VII, 451, sq.

Distribution of Nats according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	British.	Qual.	Jogila.	Kabutra.	Kalabaz.	Karnatak.	Mahawet.	Mirdah.	Kethaur.	Bapers.	Others.	Muhammadians.	Total.
Dehra Dūn	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28	28
Sahraonpur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	266	468	734
Muzaffarnagar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	251	354	605
Meerut	..	442	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	37	1,046	461	1,986
Bulandshahr	..	64	..	..	..	..	..	37	226	15	556	702	1,800
Aligarh	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	244	193	437
Mathura	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	42	279	57	383
Agra	15	..	..	6	..	88	..	77	249	2	480	198	1,115
Farrukhabād	378	25	..	..	207	4	..	2	39	..	710	136	1,501
Mainpuri	98	..	..	29	63	96	..	2	148	127	788	62	1,413
Etawah	16	189	..	26	82	145	..	7	184	211	787	198	1,695
Etah	105	..	..	..	112	7	..	..	97	..	564	91	976

Distribution of Nats according to the Census of 1891—continued.

DISTRICTS.	Brijbasi.	Gul.	Jogila.	Kubitra.	Kalabaz.	Karnatak.	Mahawati.	Miradah.	Rathaur.	Rajpara.	Others.	Muhammadians.	TOTAL.
Bareilly	1,244	398	49	81	40	141	..	..	..	..	555	25	2,533
Bijnor . . . . .	..	..	..	306	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,210	154	1,670
Budoun	71	816	285	15	169	8	..	..	92	..	987	382	2,825
Moradabad	40	699	..	47	40	30	..	..	19	18	321	304	1,518
Shahjahanpur	551	2	52	..	359	..	..	..	89	..	1,406	49	2,505
Pilibhit	302	..	31	..	155	..	..	..	73	..	565	303	1,429
Cawnpur	129	..	..	..	2	45	10	..	10	..	724	102	1,022
Fatehpur	101	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	270	486	857
Randa . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	105	195	300
Hamirpur . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	83	352	435
Aligarh	61	..	..	..	..	33	..	..	20	..	1,648	636	2,398
Jhansi . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	..	..	33	282	334

Distribution of Nats according to the Census of 1891—concluded.

DISTRICTS.	Brijbasi.	Gwal.	Jogila.	Kabutra.	Kalabaz.	Karnatak.	Mahawat.	Mirdah.	Rathaur.	Sapera.	Others.	Muhammadians.	TOTAL.
Faizabad	98	...	...	...	...	44	126	...	91	...	383	567	1,309
Gonda	63	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	457	...	622	178	1,926
Bahrach	459	...	...	...	...	...	40	...	66	...	695	376	1,636
Sultampur . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	441	292	733
Partabgarh	22	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	5	392	423
Barabanki . . . . .	...	83	...	...	...	...	...	...	271	...	520	629	1,503
TOTAL	6,319	2,843	1,222	1,930	1,771	1,559	334	149	3,778	452	22,223	20,702	63,382

Naumuslim (*Naw*, "new" *Muslim*—"Muhammadan").—A term applied to recent converts to Islām. It is often particularly selected by fresh Rājput converts. These, however, in the lists of the last Census, are given under the head Rājput, such as the Lāl-khāni and similar tribes, who have been separately discussed. Many of them have only imperfectly adopted Islām, and still retain several of their own tribal customs in connection with birth, death, marriage, inheritance, etc.

Distribution of the Naumuslim according to the Census of 1891—concluded.

Districts.	Ahr.	Banya.	Brāhman.	Chamār.	Kāyasth.	Kori.	Māli.	Others.	TOTAL.
Gorakhpur	3	3	...	2	1	...	92	262	363
Basti	1,766	...	...	...	...	...	662	19	2,447
Asangarh . . . . .	...	27	...	...	...	...	71	117	215
Tardi . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	57	95	152
Lucknow	2	...	...	...	...	...	157	201	360
Unāo	56	...	...	1	...	2	...	29	88
Raē Bareilly . . . . .	...	4	...	...	19	...	...	187	160
Sitapur . . . . .	...	4	...	...	...	...	155	266	425
Hardoi . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	945	945
Kheri . . . . .	...	...	10	1	...	2	...	80	98
Faizābād . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	273	23	296
Gonda	1,145	...	...	...	...	...	1,374	...	2,519
Bebrāich	2	...	...	...	...	...	1,626	4	1,632

Sultānpur . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	119	108	227
Partābgarh . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	801	...	...	5	34	840
Barabanki	3	...	3	2	8	26	97	252	391		
Total	3,815	354	1,460	295	1,318	92	6,615	74,495	88,444		

Nikumbh.—A sept of Rājputs chiefly found in the Eastern districts. The word *nikumbha* in Sanskrit means the plant *Croton Polyandrum*, and is perhaps connected with *kumbha*, “a jar.” They are, according to General Cunningham,¹ of the race of the Kings of Ajudhya “from which sprang Māndhātri, Sāgara, Bhāgiratha, and Rāma. Kuvalayaswa, the great-grandfather of Nikumbha, having conquered the demon Dhundhu, acquired the title of Dhundhumāra, “slayer of Dhundhu,” and gave his name to the country which is now known as Dhundhār or Jaypur. Here his descendants remained under the name of Nikumbhas, and to them is ascribed the foundation of most of the old forts and cities in Alwar and Northern Jaypur. Under Māndhātri and Sāgara they came in collision with the Haihayas and Talajangas on the Narbada, where a branch of their race still held territory in the tenth century. Two inscriptions have been found in Khāndes,—one, dated A.D. 1158; and the other, in 1216 A.D.,—in the latter of which the reigning king is said to have been of the great Solar race from which “the King Nikumbha, best of princes, sprang; in whose line Māndhāta was famous, as well as Sāgara, Bhāgiratha and others.” In the former, the reigning prince is said to be “celebrated in the race—the illustrious Solar race, in which the Nikumbha was born whose descendant was Rāma.” Of this race, as Colonel Tod² says, “to which celebrity attaches in all the genealogies, we can only discover that they were proprietors of the district of Mandalgarh prior to the Gahlots, that is, they preceded the Sisodiyas in Mewār.” But a writer in the *Rajputāna Gazetteer*³ adds that “had his enquiries extended to Alwar, he would have discovered that local tradition declares the Nikumbhas to have been the earliest possessors of the fort and town of Alwar, and of the surrounding territory.” General Cunningham concludes from these data that “it would seem that the Nikumbhas were among the earliest Aryan settlers in Rajputāna. During the lapse of many centuries they lost their central provinces, and at the time of the Muhammadan conquest only the two out-lying districts of Khāndes on the South and Alwar on the North remained to them. The name of Nikumbha has been supplanted in Northern India by that of the Raghuvansa or “descendant of Raghu,” one of the ancestors

¹ *Archæological Reports*, XX, 8, sqq.

² *Annals* I, 28,

³ III, 172.

of Dasaratha and Râma. The Nikumbhas, who settled in this region, retained their early tribal name, while their brethren of Ayodhya assumed the name of Raghuvasi."

2. In Hardoi¹ the Nikumbhas say that they came from Alwar about 1450 A.D. Another account makes them out to be a Kachhwâha or Sûrajans clan which left Aral or Arwal in Jaypur and alternately served the Tomar Râja of Delhi and the Râthaur of Kanauj. They derive their name from the good work (*nek kâm*) they did in the service of these monarchs. Others say that the name means "low caste" or "illegitimate." They were the original Thâkur settlers in Farrukhâbâd² in the old Pargana of Pipargâon, now included in Muhammadâbâd. The Azamgarh³ branch are said to have come from Jaunpur, sixteen or seventeen generations ago, being called in by a Brâhman to save his daughter from marriage with a Râjbhar. The family became Muhammadan under the Sultâns of Jaunpur. Those in Gorakhpur have the title of Sirnet, which they gained in the time of one of the Emperors of Delhi. Then, as now, they only raised the hand to the head, and never bowed, when making obeisance. The Emperor, annoyed at this apparent want of respect, had a sword placed across the doorway, and some of them, maintaining their position, were decapitated.⁴ The Râjas of Basti, Unwal, and Rudrapur, in the Gorakhpur District belong to this sept. Those in Ghâzipur trace their descent from Vikrama Deva, brother of Akhraj Deva, Râja of Unwal, in Gorakhpur, who, when he came to bathe at the confluence of the Sarju and the Ganges, founded a colony there. They endeavour to keep up their connection with Gorakhpur, and nearly a hundred years ago their headman, Bâbu Râghunâth Sinh, visited Unwal and planted groves and dug wells at his own expense.

3. In Farrukhâbâd they claim to belong to the Garga *gotra*, give girls to the Chandel, Bhadauriya, Kachhwâha, Chauhân, and Pramars septs: and marry brides from the Chamargaur, Râthaur, Gaharwâr, Sombansi, and Ujjaini. In Unâo they say they belong to the Bhâradwâja *gotra*; take wives from the Gaur, Dhâkrê, Bais, and Janwâr; and give girls to the Sombansi, Râthaur and Chauhân.

¹ *Settlement Report*, 74.

² *Settlement Report*, 18.

³ *Settlement Report*, 63.

⁴ For a similar story see Bernier, *Travels*, 151.

*Distribution of Nikumbh Rājputs according to the Census
of 1891.*

DISTRICT.	Number.	DISTRICT.	Number.
Farrukhābād . . .	898	Mirzapur . . .	53
Mainpuri . . .	57	Jaunpur . . .	2,279
Etāwah . . .	19	Ghāzipur . . .	580
Etah . . .	32	Ballia . . .	3,896
Bareilly . . .	35	Gorakhpur . . .	50
Budāun . . .	44	Basti . . .	40
Morādābād . . .	6	Azamgarh . . .	4,433
Shāhjahānpur . . .	755	Lucknow . . .	427
Pilibhīt . . .	114	Sitapur . . .	158
Bānda . . .	9	Hardoi . . .	3,698
Allahābād . . .	34	Kheri . . .	1,051
Jālaun . . .	46	Partabgarh . . .	3
Benares . . .	216	TOTAL . . .	18,904

Nimbâarak.—A Vaishnava order who have not been separately recorded at the last Census. The word means “the sun in a *nīm* tree,” a curious designation, which is thus explained, “The founder of the sect, an ascetic by name Bhaskarācharya, had invited a Bairāgi to dine with him, but unfortunately delayed to go and fetch his guest till after sunset. Now the holy man was forbidden by the rules of his order to eat except in the day-time, and was greatly afraid that he would be compelled to practise an unwilling abstinence; but at the solicitation of his host the Sun god, Sūraj Nārāyan, descended upon the *nīm* tree, under which the repast was spread, and continued beaming upon them till the claims of hunger were fully satisfied. Henceforth the saint was known by the name of Nimbārka or Nimbāditya. Their doctrines, so far as they are known, are of a very enlightened character. Thus their doctrine of salvation by faith is thought by many scholars to have been directly borrowed from the Gospel; while another article in their creed, which is less known but equally striking in its divergence from ordinary Hindu sentiment, is the continuance of

conscious individual existence in a future world, when the highest reward of the good will be, not extinction, but in the enjoyment of the visible presence of the Divinity whom they have served upon earth; a state, therefore, absolutely identical with Heaven, as our theologians define it. The one infinite and invisible God, who is the only real existence, is, they maintain, the only proper object of man's devout contemplation. But as the incomprehensible is utterly beyond the reach of human faculties, he is partially manifested for our behoof in the book of creation, in which natural objects are the letters of the universal alphabet, and express the sentiments of the Divine Author. A printed page, however, conveys no meaning to any one but a scholar, and is liable to be misunderstood even by him; so too with the book of the world. And thus it matters little whether Râdha and Krishna were ever real personages; the mysteries of divine love which they symbolise remain though the symbols disappear." ¹

2. From enquiries made at Benares it appears that initiates are accepted from among Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and all Sûdras from whose hands high caste Hindus can take water. No regard is paid to social status, but no one is accepted who is addicted to drunkenness or incontinency, or who eats and drinks from the hands of persons of other creeds. The formula of initiation is *Sri Krishna sarnam mama*, "I seek refuge in Sri Krishna;" or *Sri mukund charanamsarnam prapadye*, "O Sri Krishna! give me refuge at thy feet;" or *Sri Krishnanyanamah*, "I salute thee, Sri Krishna." When the candidate is initiated he is taught to be truthful, to abide by the rules of the order, to be peaceful, to fast on the eleventh (*ekâdashi*) of the month, to trust in Sri Krishna for all earthly and heavenly blessings, to avoid slandering and backbiting, to abstain from flesh and spirituous liquor, and to instruct the disciples.

3. They have a great respect for the Guru, whom they constantly visit; but he does not come to them unless specially invited. When a disciple visits his Guru, he brings a money present, and receives in return some consecrated food (*prasâd*). Those of the sect who are family men live at home; the ascetic class in monasteries. The latter are supplied with food and other necessities of life by the Guru.

¹ Growse, *Mathura*, 181 sq.

Niranjani.—Classed in the last Census as an order of the Gusâins and found only in very small numbers in these Provinces. They are apparently a Panjâb order, founded by Handâl, the cook of Guru Amar Dâs (A.D. 1552-1574). Bâba Handâl worshipped God under the title of Niranjana, "without collyrium or ointment, pure." According to Mr. MacLagan¹ their chief claim to notice is their rejection of the ordinary burial customs of the Sikhs and Hindus. The memorial ceremony (*kîrya karam*) is not observed and the bones are not taken to the Ganges. They have special marriage rites of their own, and do not reverence the Brâhmans. There is a Gurudwâra or Darbâr Sâhib of Bâba Handâl at Jandiyâla in the Amritsar District, where the Niranjanis chiefly resort.

Distribution of the Niranjanis according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Dehra Dûn . . .	7	Jhânsi . . .	2
Hamîrpur . . .	5	Jâlaun . . .	13
Allahâbâd . . .	1	Bahrâich . . .	1
		TOTAL .	29

Males 18
 Females 11

Nirola.—A class of Hill Brâhmans who are considered to be somewhat lower in the social scale than the Sarolas and contain in themselves in a separate class a number of sub-divisions known generically as Dubhâgi; for they neither eat from the hands of Sarola or Gangâri, nor intermarry with them. They have several *gotras*, such as Kasyapa, Angiras, etc., and hence the name Nanagotri given to them. Their principal sub-divisions are Dhûsâli, Jamlogi, Batanwâl, Kandhâri, Baramwâl, Silwâl, Poldi, Bilwâl, Garsâra, Thalwâl, Gugleta, Kimoti, Maikota, Darmwâra, Dyolki, Kandyâl, Thalâsi, Phalâta, Gatyâl, Dhumaqwâl, Sanwâl, Managwâl, Bamola, Binjâl, and Ganai. Most

¹ Panjâb Census Report, 158.

of these names are derived from some village. 'All intermarry with each other, and now follow agriculture, service, peddling, and providing for the wants of the pilgrims to Kedârnâth, who are regarded as their legitimate prey and shorn accordingly.¹

Niyâriya.—(Hindi *niyâra*, *nirdâ* "separate, distinct").—A refiner of precious metals, who washes the sweeping of the shops of goldsmiths and similar craftsmen, and extracts the gold and silver. The caste, such as it is, is purely professional and though some families have made it their hereditary occupation and call themselves Pathân or Shaikh Niyâriyas, many outsiders, such as weavers and others, practise the trade. Those to the east of the Province ascribe their origin to Kota and Rûndi, from whence they say they emigrated about a century or so ago. They are Muhammadans and practise the usual Musalmân ceremonies at birth, marriage, and death.

Mr. Hoey² thus describes the way the trade is carried on in

Lucknow. "Having his *aqua fortis* ready

Occupation. the Niyâriya takes the melted mixture of gold and silver filings or clippings (*rava*) and melts it in a crucible (*ghariya*), and when it is in a liquid state, he pours it from a height into a vessel containing water. This fall into water makes each large drop of liquid metal remain separate. Then all those pieces of metal are placed in a glass phial (*âtish shîshî*) prepared to resist the action of fire. These phials are like balloons covered with a coating of mud so as to leave only a circular portion of the glass exposed at one side for the use of the operator watching the action of the acid. The narrow neck of the balloon is of course turned up vertically to prevent the contents from spilling, and it is not closed up in any way. The mud used to cover the glass is called *pîlimatti*. Having placed one hundred *tolas* of metal drops in the phial the Niyâriya pours upon it two hundred *tolas* of acid. He then places the phial on a charcoal fire, and when the action of the *aqua fortis* and fire has become complete, the liquid is poured off. The gold lies in the bottom of the phial and the silver passes off with the acid, which is poured into a mud vessel in which there are pieces of copper. The silver adheres to the copper and is scraped off and thrown again with the acid into

¹ Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III, 23.

² *Monograph on trades and manufactures*, 156 sq.

another mud vessel in which there is no copper. The Niyâriya then places a cloth-strainer over an empty mud vessel and lays over the cloth a sheet of bamboo paper. He pours the silver and acid into this strainer, and the silver settles on the paper, the acid passing through the cloth into the vessel below. The silver is then further cleared by burning in an earthenware pan containing cold charcoal ashes ground to powder. In these ashes a lead is made about the size of the hollow of the hand. The silver is laid in this hollow with a piece of lead and covered over; charcoal fire is laid above the ashes and blown with a pair of bellows. This clears the silver completely." He also melts down old ornaments for silversmiths.

Distribution of the Niyâriya according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Sahâranpur	2	...	2
Muzaffarnagar	6	2	11
Meerut	18	...	18
Aligarh	3	...	3
Etâwah . . . . .	...	1	1
Bijnor . . . . .	...	7	7
Fatehpur . . . . .	...	12	12
Hamîrpur . . . . .	...	35	35
Jâlaun . . . . .	...	2	2
Benâres	33	15	15
Ballia . . . . .	...	...	33
Gorakhpur . . . . .	...	33	33
Basti . . . . .	...	2	2
Azamgarh . . . . .	...	9	9
Tarâi . . . . .	...	2	2
Lucknow . . . . .	...	18	18
Sitapur . . . . .	...	31	31
Faizâbâd . . . . .	...	9	9
Gonda . . . . .	...	4	4
Bahrâich . . . . .	...	9	9
Sultânpur . . . . .	...	2	2
TOTAL	65	193	258

O

Ojha.—A word commonly derived from the Hindi *ojh*, “entrails,” in the sense that this class of exorcisor, like the Roman Haruspex, inspects the entrails of the victim. This, it is hardly necessary to say, the Indian diviner never does. It is almost certainly a corruption of the Sanskrit *upādhyaya*, “a teacher.” The term is used in various senses. In the first place it is used to designate the devil priest, or diviner of the aboriginal races, such as those of Dravidian origin. Some account of the position and practices of this functionary has been given in another place.¹ Next, it is applied to a special class of inferior Brāhman who perform the same duties for the more Hinduised races. Thirdly, it is used as a title of the Maithila Brāhman of the Eastern Districts. Mr. Sherring² is obviously in error in saying that “formerly the Ojha was always a Brāhman; but his profession has become so lucrative that sharp, clever, shrewd men in all the Hindu castes have taken to it.” The process has certainly been quite the reverse of this, and the Ojha Brāhman is, without any doubt, a direct importation into Hinduism from the demonolatry of the aboriginal races, from which much of the coarse worship of Mahādeva and the Sāktas has been probably derived.

2. The Ojha Brāhman is a follower of the Tantras, the most debased form of modern Hinduism. “Whole Tantras,” writes Sir M. Monier Williams,³ “teach nothing but various methods of making use of spells for acquiring magical power. Some give collections of charms for making people enamoured, for destroying enemies and rivals, for producing or preventing diseases, for curing blindness, for injuring crops. Others simply describe the most effectual modes of worshipping the Sāktis, Mahāvidyas, Mātris, Yoginis, Vatukas, or by whatever name the innumerable manifestations of Siva and his wife may be called. Others confine themselves to an explanation of the Yantras, Bijas, and Mudras (intertwining of the fingers) belonging to each manifestation, the places suited for the worship of each, the names of trees and plants sacred to each, or permeated by each, and the days of the year allotted to each. Some few touch on nearly every conceivable topic of human knowledge, and

¹ *Introduction to Popular Religion and Folklore*, 96.

² *Hindu Castes*, I, 37.

³ *Brāhmanism and Hinduism*, 206.

contain, here and there, really interesting matter." On account of these functions the Ojha is often known as Panchamakāri, because the conditions under which he performs the rites are represented in five words, each of which begins with *ma-māḍya*, "wine," *māṁsa* "meat," *matsya*, "fish," *mudra*, "mystic intertwining of the fingers," and *maithuna*, "sexual intercourse."

Distribution of Ojha Brāhmins according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Dehra Dūn . . .	16	Morādābād . . .	57
Sahāranpur . . .	18	Pilibhīt . . .	4
Bulandshahr . . .	6	Cawnpur . . .	23
Aligarh . . .	403	Allahābād . . .	1
Agra . . .	371	Jhānsi . . .	12
Farukhābād . . .	41	Jālaun . . .	1
Mainpuri . . .	6	Tarāi . . .	5
Etah . . .	89	Bahrāich . . .	5
Budāun . . .	103		
		TOTAL . . .	1,161

Orh.—A tribe recorded in the recent Census as a sub-caste of Koris and almost entirely confined to Bulandshahr and Aligarh. They appear to have their origin in Central India. "The Ods in Kāthiāwār are professional pond diggers. The yelaim to be Kshatriyas, the descendants of Bhāgīratha, son of Sāgara. According to the *Rās Māla*, Sindh Rāj sent for a number of Ods from Mālwa to dig the Sahasraling Lake at Pātan. He fell in love with one of them, called Jasma, and wished to take her to his palace. She declined and tried to make her escape. He pursued her, and, on overtaking her, slew several of the Ods. Jasma committed suicide, cursing the king, and declaring that the lake should never hold water. The curse was removed by the sacrifice of Mayo Dhed. The Ods lead a wandering life, coming to Kāthiāwār for work, and returning to their houses in Mārwar and Central India during the rains."¹ In the Dakkhin they are known as Vadar.² Of the Ods in the

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, VIII, 158, sq.

² *Ibid.*, XV, 347; XVI. 64; *Indian Antiquary*, III, 155.

Panjâb Mr. Ibbetson writes :¹ "The Od or Odh is a wandering tribe, whose proper home appears to be Western Hindustân and Rajputâna ; at least the Ods of the Panjâb usually hail from those parts. They will not, as a rule, take petty jobs ; but prefer small contracts on roads, canals, railways and the like, or will build a house of abode and dig a tank or even a well. They are vagrants, wandering about with their families in search of employment on earthwork. They settle down in temporary reed huts on the edge of the work ; the men dig, the women carry the earth to the donkeys, which they always have with them, and the children drive the donkeys to the spoil bank. In the salt range tract they also quarry and carry stone ; and in parts of the North-West Provinces they are said to be wandering pedlars. They eat anything and everything, and though not unfrequently Musalmâns, especially in the West, are always out-caste. They have a speech of their own, called Odki, of which I know nothing, but which is very probably nothing more than the ordinary dialect of their place of origin. They wear woollen clothes or at least one woollen garment. They claim descent from one Bhâgîratha, who vowed never to drink twice out of the same well, and so dug a fresh one every day till one day he dug down and down and never came up again. It is in mourning for him that they wear wool, and in imitation of him they bury their dead even when Hindu, though they marry by the Hindu ceremony. Till the re-appearance of Bhâgîratha they will, they say, remain out-caste. They are said to claim Râjput or Kshatriya origin and to come from Mârwar. They worship Râma and Siva. They are, for a vagrant tribe, singularly free from all imputation of crime." In Bihâr they are described as a sub-caste of Luniyas.²

2. There can be little doubt that the Orhs of these Provinces are of the same race as those already described. The North-Western Provinces Branch.³ They have the same tradition of descent from Bhâgîratha, son of Râja Sâgara, and a woman named Gandharani. They are not allowed to marry in their own *gotra* or that of their mother or grandmother. They lead a settled life, and do not admit outsiders. Marriage is both infant and adult, and sexual license before marriage is neither recognised nor tolerated. Polyandry is

¹ *Panjâb Ethnography*, para. 578.

² *Bisley, Tribes and Castes*, II, 150.

³ Mainly based on notes by M. Âtma Râm, Head Master, High School, Mathura.

not permitted, but polygamy is allowed. They marry in the way common to all respectable Hindu castes, and the binding part of it is the perambulation (*bhānwar*) of the pair round the sacred fire. Widow marriage is allowed, and the ceremony is known as *dharaicha*. The widow is allowed full freedom of choice ; but she can marry by the levirate any of the younger brothers of her late husband. A wife can be divorced for infidelity, and such a woman can be married again by the *dharaicha* form.

3. They are usually Hindus of the Vaishnava sect. Their special
 Religion. godlings are the Miyān Sāhib of Amroha in the Morādābād District, whom they worship in any month except Muharram ; Devi in Chait and Kuār ; Masāni of Karanbās and Zābir Pīr in Sāwan and Bhādon ; Kuānwāla, "the god of the well," in Sāwan, and the ordinary Hindu gods. The offering to these godlings consists of sweetmeats (*batdsha*) and cocoanuts, which the priests receive. They employ Brāhmans as their priests, and these are received on terms of equality with other Brāhmans. They burn their dead and leave their ashes on the burning ground. No ceremony, except the ordinary *sradāha* in the month of Kuār, is performed.

4. Their occupation in Mathura is the weaving of coarse cloth
 Occupation. (*dobra*), and most of them still follow this trade. But some of them have taken to agriculture and landholding and are dealers in grain, and lend money and grain usually on very usurious rates in the villages.

5. They eat meat, fish, and fowls, and drink spirits. They
 Social rules. abstain from the flesh of monkeys, cows, pork, and uncloven-footed animals, crocodiles, snakes, vermin, and the leavings of other people. They are thus in these Provinces in a far higher grade than their vagrant brethren in the Panjāb.

Distribution of Orhs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Dehra Dūn . . .	41	Farrukhābād . . .	5
Meerut . . .	936	Etāwah . . .	1
Bulandshahr . . .	5,876	Etah . . .	86
Aligarh . . .	2,966	Morādābād . . .	60
Mathura . . .	763	Jhānsi . . .	2
Agra . . .	15		
		TOTAL .	10,751

Oswâl.¹—A wealthy and respectable trading class found in small numbers in these Provinces. They derive their name from the town of Ossa, Osi, Osiya or Osanagar, in Mârwar.

2. The tribal legend runs as follows: About Sambat 222 (165

A.D.) there was a Râja in Osanagar who had
Traditional origin. no issue. He heard that an ascetic named

Sri Ratan Sûri was practising austerities in a jungle near the town, and he went to pay his respects to him. The ascetic told him that he would obtain his desires within a year; and accordingly within a year a son was born to him. The people of the town, fearing that the success of this prophecy would induce the Râja to become a Jaina, excluded the disciples of Sri Ratan Sûri from the town. Then Osadevi, the guardian goddess of the place, told the saint to convince the Râja by a miracle. So she took a small hank (*phûns*) of cotton and passed it along the back of the saint, when it immediately became a snake and bit Jaychand, the son of the Râja, in the toe, while he was asleep beside his wife. Every means was tried to save his life, but he died. As his corpse was about to be burnt, Sri Ratan Sûri sent one of his disciples and stopped the cremation. Then the Râja came with the body of his son and stood with hands clasped before the saint. He ordered that it was to be taken back to the place where the prince had been bitten, and that the princess was to lie down beside it as before. At midnight the snake returned and licked the bite, when the prince was restored to life. Then the Râja, with all his court and people, became a Jaina. He and his family became the *gotra* now known as Srisrimâl; his servants that of Srimâl, and the Kshatriyas Oswâl. When the Brâhmins of the place heard of these conversions, they asked the saint how they were to live, as all their clients had become Jainas. The saint directed that they should remain as their family priests and be known as Bhojak or "eaters." The Kshatriyas, who were thus converted, consisted of eighteen *gotras*. Subsequently other Kshatriyas were converted to Jainism by the Jaina priests, and in order to distinguish them from the original Oswâls, who were converted by Sri Ratan Sûri, they were called Khara Oswâl. In Sambat 1167 (1110 A.D.) Sri Jindat Sûri, now known throughout the Jaina world as Dâdaji, converted about a lakh of people into Oswâls,

¹ Based on enquiries at Mirzapur, and notes by Bâbu Vishnu Chandra, Deputy Collector, a member of the tribe.

and no addition has been made to the caste since then. The Kachh tradition is somewhat different from this. "The Oswâls from Os, Parinagar and Budhesar in Pârkar say, that forced to leave Pârkar on account of the misconduct of their chief, they went to Sindh, and finding the Musalmân element too strong, came to Kachh. They are of three sub-divisions Vîsa, Dasa, and Pâncha. The Dasas separated about three hundred years ago, wishing to introduce widow marriage. They afterwards gave up the practice, and within the last few years a small off-shoot introduced it and were named Pânchas. Another story is that the Srimâl King Desal allowed none but millionaires to live inside his city walls. One of the lucky citizens, a Srimâli Vânya, named Ruâd, had a brother named Sâad, whose fortune did not come up to the chief's standard of wealth. Forced to live outside, he asked his brother to help him to make up the required million, but meeting with no encouragement, he and Jay Chand, a discontented son of the king of Srimâl, and many Srimâlis, Râjputs, and others, left Srimâl, and settling in the town of Mandavad called it Osa or 'the frontier.' Among the settlers were Srimâli Vânyas, Bhatti, Chauhân, Gahlot, God, Gohil, Hâda, Jâdav, Makwâna, Parmâr, Râthaur, and Thâr Râjputs, all devout worshippers of Siva. Ratan Sûri, a Jaina, by working miracles, converted Jay Chand, then king, and all the settlers to the faith, and calling them Oswâls formed them into one caste. This is said to have happened in 166 A. D. Tod gives a different account of their origin, claiming them as descendants of the Solanki kings of Anhilvâda (942—1240) who gave up the sword for the till. Chiefly image worshipping Jains in religion, their family goddess is Satya in Pârkar." ¹

3. The annexed list gives the names of the exogamous *gotras* of the Oswâls as found in the Eastern Districts of these Provinces. The Bombay tradition as to the division into Dasa and Bîsa is as follows:—"An Oswâl widow, contrary to the rule against widow marriage, lived with a Jaina priest and had two sons by him. The sons grew rich and hit upon the following plan to force their caste fellows to overlook their illegitimate descent. At the town of Raya, where there was a large number of Oswâls, they made grand preparations for a dinner, and asked the Oswâls, who, not knowing that the hosts were of illegitimate descent, attended the party in large numbers. A widow told

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, V, 52.

her son the history of the men who were giving the feast, and he went before the assembled Oswâls and begged of them to allow his mother to re-marry. They asked him why he had come there to make this request, and he told them the story of the birth of the two brothers who had invited them to dinner. On hearing that their hosts were out-caste, there was a sudden confusion among the guests. Those who had touched the food joined the two brothers, and were called Dasa, while those who had not touched the food remained pure or Bîsa. The terms seem to mean Bîsa or 'twenty to the score,' that is pure blood, and Dasa or 'ten in the score,' or half caste."¹

4. As already stated, the *gotras* or sections are exogamous. As stated from Benares the rule is that a man cannot marry in his own *gotra*; he cannot marry a girl whose father's or maternal grandfather's *gotra* is the same as that of his father or maternal grandfather. He cannot marry the elder sister of his deceased wife; but can marry her younger sister. There is no formula defining the prohibited degrees. Difference of religion or sect is no bar to marriage, as, for example, a Digambari Oswâl, or worshipper of the naked idols, can marry a Swetambari girl, or one who worshipped the clothed idols, or a Jaina Oswâl boy can marry a Vaishnava Oswâl girl or *vice versa*. It is said that in South Western India an Oswâl can marry in the Khandêwâl, Porwâl, and other similar tribes, the only condition being that both parties should be Jainas.

5. In these Provinces the ceremony of betrothal is performed by sending the *lîka*, one or two rupees, with a cocoanut and sweetmeats. The betrothal generally takes place when the girl is between seven and eleven years of age. The consent of the parents of the boy and girl is invariably necessary, and the girl is not allowed any freedom before marriage. A betrothal can be annulled, but there is no rule for the repayment of the expenses incurred. With the seventh circuit round the sacred fire, the marriage is complete. As the Oswâls are foreigners to these Provinces, the customs followed in Bombay may be quoted: "Boys are married between fifteen and twenty-five and girls between eight and fifteen. The boy's father, with from ten to fifty castemen, visits the girl and presents her with a silver

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVI, 45.

ring worth four annas or one rupee. The girl's father treats the company to betel and her priest puts the silver ring on the girl's finger. The girl's father returns the visit, presenting the boy's younger brother with one or three rupees, and treats the guests to betel. Cocoanuts are served in the presence of both fathers, the priest fixes a lucky day for the marriage. Some days before the marriage, the boy's father presents the girl with ornaments, invitation cards are sent round, and the boy and the girl are rubbed with turmeric paste. The turmeric rubbing takes place, at least, a month before the marriage. A thread tinged with turmeric powder is cut in two and each of the pieces is passed through an iron ring and tied round a piece of lac bangle, and one of the threads is fastened to the girl's right foot and the other to the boy's right hand. The month between the turmeric rubbing and the marriage is a time of gaiety. The friends and relations of the boy and girl in turn send one of their household to the boy's or the girl's house. The messenger places a cocoanut and silver coin in the boy's and girl's hand and asks him or her to come to their house in the evening. After sunset the boy or girl is seated on horse-back with music, and a band of friends is taken to the entertainer's house, the procession being known as *gadganer* or 'entertaining the bridegroom or bride.' The house is brightly lighted, and carpets are spread in front on which the guests are seated. The women of the house and the guests take their seats in the verandah and sing *Mārwāri* songs. The women go on singing till the sister of the boy or the girl waves a light, and is presented with a cocoanut and a silver coin. On the marriage day the girl's priest goes to the boy's, and formally asks his family to the wedding. The bridegroom is seated on horse-back, and with music in front and a band of friends behind is taken to the temple of the bride's village *Māruti*. The marriage party leave the bridegroom at the temple and go to the bride's house, where her father welcomes them, and betel is served. The *Brāhman* priest tells the bridegroom's father the lucky moment for the wedding, and the party return to the temple with music. When the lucky hour draws near, it generally falls when it is growing dusk, the bridegroom lays a packet of betel leaves, a nut, and a copper before the village *Māruti*, bows and starts on horse-back to the bride's house. On reaching the bride's booth, a stick is handed to the bridegroom, and he strikes with it at the entrance of the porch (a survival of marriage by capture), bows to the pictures of

Ganpati, is presented by the bride's father with a turban worth from one to twenty-five rupees, and dismounts.

"6. Until the lucky hour for the marriage the guests amuse themselves, watching dancing-girls in the marriage hall, or return home to take their food, while the bridegroom, with five or six of his men, steps into the house and bows to a betel-nut Ganpati, lays before it sandal paste, rice, flowers, red powder, vermilion, and scented powder (*abîr*), burns frankincense before it, waves lamps filled with clarified butter round it, and offers sugar. The pair are seated in a booth on a soft cushion laid on a carpet, and a Brâhman priest makes an altar of black earth, kindles the sacred fire (*hom*) on the altar, and drops into the fire clarified butter, grains of barley, and bits of sandal-wood. The pair look on in silence and are not allowed to move from the place until the fire worship is done. When the fire worship is over, the priest tells the pair to walk four times round the altar. Then comes the daughter-giving (*kanyâddan*), when the bride's father pours water on the bridegroom's hands with a money gift varying from one to one hundred rupees. The Brâhman priest is paid five to one hundred rupees, and the bridegroom takes the girl to his house with music and friends. At the boy's house, the pair again sit before the betel-nut Ganpati, which is set on a heap of rice, and their priest lays flowers and red powder before it. When the Ganpati worship is over, the bride's women take her home, and the first wedding day is ended. The bride's parents, who have fasted all day, dine with the bride when she comes back from her husband's house. No caste feast is given this day. Next morning, in the bride's house, a list is made of households to be asked to dine, and the list is given to the priest, who goes round to the houses named, ending at the bridegroom's. At noon the invitations are again sent through the priest as in the morning, and the bridegroom's party goes to the bride's, and is treated to a sumptuous dinner, with a party of the bride's friends and relations. The Brâhman priests cook and serve the guests with food, not allowing any of the guests to touch them, and themselves eating when the others are done. At night the guests are treated to a rich supper, and the party retire after betel is served. The third day passes like the second. On the fourth comes the cloth-presenting ceremony (*phat*), when the marriage party goes with music to the bride's. The bridegroom is seated on a seat somewhat higher than the rest, and the bride's friends and relations arrive. A low wooden stool is set

before the bridegroom, and on the stool a bell-metal dining dish marked with upright and crossed lines of vermilion. A metal cup is set in the dish, and a silver coin is dropped in the dish in the name of the family gods. The bride's father presents the bridegroom with as rich a dress and ornaments as he can afford, or at least with a cocoanut, and turbans are handed to his male friends. The bride's party throws red powder at the bridegroom's, who depart taking the pair with them."¹

7. No ceremony is performed during pregnancy except for the first child, when the *salmāsa* or seventh month ceremony is performed. The mother goes to

Birth ceremonies.

her father's house, where she is presented with a dress and sweetmeats and a feast is given. The midwife and servants attend the mother for twelve days after her accouchement. After the child is born, its astrological horoscope (*janampatri*) is prepared on the sixth day (*chhatāsi*), the mother and child bathe before sunrise, the child is for the first time dressed and decorated with ornaments, and the mother and child worship the Sun. On the twelfth day (*baraht*), mother and child bathe before sunrise and a feast is given. On the *masodn*, after a month, the mother and child visit her father and receive dresses and ornaments for the mother and clothes and toys for the child. The father is unclean during the twelve days after his wife's delivery, and is not permitted to worship the gods. In Bombay when a "child is born, a little cold water is poured over it, and close to it a metal plate is beaten with a rod (to scare off evil spirits). The navel cord is cut, and the woman is bathed in warm water. Some of them dig, and others of them do not dig, the bath water hole in the lying-in room. Those who do not dig the hole, bathe the child in a large and deep metal tray. The mother and child are laid on a cot under which an earthen jar with burning cow-dung cakes is placed. On the first and three following days the child is given a rag soaked in castor oil to suck. From the fourth the mother suckles the child, and is given to eat a pounded mixture of cummin seed and molasses mixed with clarified butter. During the first three days, her diet is wheat flour boiled in clarified butter mixed with sugar, and from the fourth she eats rice and pulse with clarified butter. On the fifth day, a few among them worship the image of Satvāi placed on a stone

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, XV, 79, sqq.

slab, as among the Kunbis of the district, while, as a rule, all of them place sandal paste flowers, turmeric powder, vermilion and fruit with sweet food cooked in the house before an inkstand, reed pen and paper with or without an image of the goddess Satvái. They say that the worship of the image of Satvái is not a Mārwar custom, and the habit has been adopted by their women since they settled in Ahmadnagar. Lamps of dough filled with clarified butter are lighted and set before the goddess, or the pen, ink and paper, and in the place where the mother and child are bathed. These lamps are placed so that the child may not see them; if the child see the light, it is likely to fall sick. Unlike local castes they do not worship Satvái on the twelfth day, nor do the child's aunts name it. A Bráhmaṇ priest generally attends the naming on the thirteenth, and fixes the name after consulting his almanac. A cradle is hung in the lying-in room, and the mother's female friends and kinswomen are called and formally cradle and name the child."¹

8. The adult dead are cremated; bodies of children are thrown

into a river, and, where this is not possible, are
Disposal of the dead. buried. The ashes are thrown into a river,

and, where it is not possible to do this, they are left on the place where the body was burnt. When the corpse is placed on the pyre, the nearest relative of the deceased, who acts as chief mourner, puts five pieces of firewood on the corpse and with fire in his left hand goes three times round the pyre and then sets it alight. When the burning progresses, he cracks the skull to allow the soul to escape (*kapḍḍkriya*). No ceremonies are performed for the propitiation of ancestors in general, childless ancestors or those who die by a violent death. They do not perform the *śrāddha*; no person officiates as priest at the cremation, nor are any prayers repeated. In Bombay "after death the body is placed on a low stool, bathed and dressed in new clothes. A woman who dies before her husband is dressed in a new robe, her hair is decked with flowers and her body with ornaments. These honours are not shown to a widow's body. Poor Oswáls lay their dead on a bamboo ladder-like bier, like that used by Bráhmaṇs. The rich use a raised bamboo seat with a bamboo covering like an English umbrella, fastened to it, and ornamented with small parti-coloured flags decked with tinsel. When the bier is used, the body is alid on

¹ *Bombay Gasetteer*, XVII, 59.

the back with the face to the sky. If the canopied chair (*mdd*) is used, the body is kept in a sitting position. Two dough balls with a copper coin in each are tied in a piece of cloth, which is put in a bell-metal cup and tied on the bosom of the dead. The funeral party starts for the burial ground with the bier on their shoulders, the barber going before, carrying a fire-pot, and the chief mourner following with the others who are all men. Unlike local Brāhmanic Hindus, they have no rule against the fire-pot carrier turning round and looking back. This rule is intended to bar the return of the ghost from the burial ground. As they draw near the burning ground they halt, lay down the body, and throw the dough balls to the left and right. They go to the nearest water, strip the body of its ornaments, and hand them to the next of kin, when he returns home. The pile is made ready and the body is laid on it, and the fire is kindled by the son or nearest relation. When the body is burnt, they bathe in the nearest water and go home. Neither the bearers nor the mourners are held to be impure, and nothing is done to clean the house or the spot where the death took place. Next day the mourning family, both men and women, visit Pārasnāth's temple, and lay one *ser* of Indian millet before the god, bow to him, and go home. They do not gather the ashes of the dead, nor do they perform any mind-rites, nor keep the yearly death day. Their only observance is that, on some day between the twelfth day after the death and at the end of a year, the caste people are treated to a dinner of sweetmeats and the dead are forgotten " ¹

9. Some Oswāls are Swetambari and others Digambari Jainas.

Religion.

Swetambari Oswāls worship Sri Jiudat Sūrji, Sri Kusal Sūrji, Sri Chand Sūrji, who were Achāryas or high priests of Kartargachha and famous by the name of Dādaji. Their footprints are generally worshipped, and the offering is taken by the Bhojak already described, or in their absence, by any Brāhman. The offering consists of fruits, sweetmeats, uncooked rice, and money. Some also, in imitation of the Hindus, amongst whom they live, worship snakes and trees like the *pingl*. They all worship the sun and fire, particularly at marriage. The chief places of pilgrimage are Sikharji, the Pārasnāth Hill in Hazāribāgh District, Champapur in the Bhāgalpur District, Pavapur in Bihār, Benares, Ajudhya, Sidhachāl in Bhav-

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, 81.

nagar, Girvar Hill in Jūnagarh, Kesariyaji in Udaypur, and Mount Abu. Such pilgrimages are usually undertaken in the cold season. For ceremonial purposes Bhojaks are employed, and, in their absence, Brāhmans of any tribe. The real priests are the Jaina Jatis. In temples are worshipped the twenty-four Arhat or Tirthankara: Adinātha or Rishabhanātha, Ajitanātha, Sambhunātha, Abhinandananātha, Sumatinātha, Padmaprabhunātha, Suparswānatha, Chandraprabha, Suvidhanātha or Pushpadanta, Sitalanātha, Sri Ansanātha, Vasupadya, Vimalanātha, Anantanātha, Dharmanātha, Santanātha, Kunthunātha, Aranātha, Mallinātha, Munisuvrata, Neminātha, Naminātha, Pārasnātha, Vardhamana or Māhavira. Of course no animal sacrifice of any kind is allowed in the Jaina temples. The Svetambari Oswāls read the Kalpa Sūtra and pray and fast during the eight days of Parjūshana, which commences on the twelfth or thirteenth of Bhādon. The Digambari Oswāls observe the Parjūshana for ten days, commencing from the twentieth of Bhādon. This is their greatest religious festival. Nine days in Chait and Kuār are set apart for the *navakāśa mantra* or the Jaina *gāyatrī*, beginning from the twenty-first of each of these months. During this time prayer and fasting are performed. On the twenty-first of Kārttik in each year, they fast and worship Gyān or true knowledge; on thirtieth Kārttik, tenth of Pūs, and eighteenth Baisākh, the deities are carried about on cars. On the nineteenth and twentieth of Chait, women, whose husbands are alive, worship Gangaur, as Hindus do, and entertain their friends. Similar feasts of joy are held on the eighteenth of Sāwan. This is known as Tīj. Like Hindus they observe the Holi, Rakshabandhan, Dasmi, Divāli, Basant-panchmi. The winter solstice, Makar Sānkrant, commonly known as the Khicharwār, is also observed. There is no regular propitiation of the dead, but those who have long lived under Hindu influence believe in ghosts and use the ordinary means of repelling them.

10. Animal food is universally prohibited. Like other respectable

Social rules.

Hindus, they will not touch Doms, Bhangis, and similar menial castes. They follow the usual Hindu taboos regarding food and family intercourse. When they salute each other, they raise the right hand. Brāhmans and Jatis are saluted with joined hands. Elders and Brāhmans return the salute with the *astis* and Jatis say in return *Dharma lābh*. In Bombay "they neither eat flesh nor drink liquor on pain of loss of caste. On the second, fifth, eighth, and eleventh of each lunar

fortnight, they do not eat vegetable. Even on other days few eat onions or garlic. Most men take a pill of opium in the morning and at noon after food. They shave the head except three knots, one on the crown, and one above each ear, a practice which has given them the name of Trishendi, or "three knotted."¹

The eighty-four sections of the Oswáls.

Thatha.	Bachhâwat.	Vaid.	Sikhâwat.
Barhiya.	Chhorâwat.	Bora.	Mirich.
Sethiya.	Darhiwâl.	Bothara.	Palecha.
Lorha.	Kumât.	Jhâvag.	Ulencha.
Dâga.	Rampuriya.	Rawâni.	Jhovarh.
Kojar.	Daftari.	Bhandâni.	Lembu.
Pârah.	Sekbâni.	Bhansâli.	Tânk.
Kodhâri.	Bhâtera.	Sihâni.	Tikuliya.
Dugarh.	Monot.	Chaurariya.	Dosi.
Nuniya.	Guguliya.	Sânri.	Brahmachiya.
Nunâwat.	Lokar.	Katâri.	Kachhab.
Seth.	Khater.	Srimâl.	Gandhi.
Palâwat.	Birar.	Sisrimâl.	Jhajlani.
Sucheti.	Bhuteriya.	Singi.	Chauthâliya.
Hirâwat.	Picha.	Pitaliya.	Bhurant.
Surâna.	Vinayakiya.	Tugaliya.	Rauswâsi.
Thajer.	Kochar.	Mauhata.	Marori.
Kakara.	Goriya.	Parsâni.	Dadha.
Dhapaiya.	Syâmsukh.	Modi.	Banka.
Dhamâwat.	Pagariya.	Nâpharan.	Phophariya.
Barariya.	Dudheriya.	Râôdâsani.	Dugar.

Distribution of the Oswáls according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.				Numbers.	DISTRICTS.				Numbers.
Dehra Dûn	.	.	.	6	Aligarh	.	.	.	19
Sahâranpur	.	.	.	16	Mathura	.	.	.	21
Muzaffarnagar	.	.	.	4	Agra	.	.	.	102
Meerut	.	.	.	1	Farrukhâbâd	.	.	.	2
Bulandshahr	.	.	.	16	Etâwah	.	.	.	24

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, XV, 77.

Distribution of the Oswalds according to the Census of 1891—conold.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Etah	1	Jālaun	12
Budāun	113	Lalitpur	17
Cawnpur	14	Benares	67
Fatehpur	1	Mirzapur	3
Bānda	4	Kheri	2
Allahābād	37		
Jhānsi	12	TOTAL . .	504

P

Pachhtoriya.—A sept of Rājputs found in the eastern districts who claim to be of Dikshit origin and take their name from Pachhtar in the Ghāzipur District. They hold a fairly respectable rank. One branch of them has been converted to Islām.¹

Pahâri (*pahār*=a hill).—A general term for the hillmen of the higher and lower Himālayas. The name is applied to a considerable sept of Rājputs in Dehra Dûn, who are probably allied to the Khasiya (*q.v.*).

Pahriya.—A caste of messengers and village watchmen so called because they do watch and ward (*pahra*). In the hills they are a branch of the Doms. In the plains they are probably an occupational offshoot from some of the menial tribes.

Distribution of the Pahriya according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.										Numbers.
Gorakhpur										344
Basti										19
Gonda										88
Bahrâich										44
TOTAL .										495

Palliawâl.—A sub-caste of Banyas who take their name from the town of Palli or Pâli in Mârwar. According to Mr. Sherring they are supposed not to be true Vaisyas and to have Bargûjar blood in their veins. They emigrated westward in the time of Alâ-ud-dîn Ghori.

¹ *Census Report, 1895: Appendix B, 122; Elliott, Chronicles of Undo, 85, note.*

Distribution of Palliwâl Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Jainas.	TOTAL.
Meerut . . . .	...	2	2
Bulandshahr	1	5	6
Aligarh	156	399	555
Mathura	154	281	435
Agra	98	1,609	1,707
Fairukhâbâd	29	351	380
Etah . . . .	...	33	33
Cawnpur . . . .	...	114	114
Jâlaun	8	...	8
Lalitpur	3	...	3
Gorakhpur	405	...	405
Lucknow . . . .	...	4	4
Bârabanki . . . .	...	57	57
TOTAL	854	2,855	3,709

Palliawâl.—A local tribe of Brâhmans who, like the Banya sub-caste of the same name, take their title from Pâli, the commercial city of Mârwar. They belong to the Kanaujiya division of the Pâñcha Gauda. Colonel Tod had a theory that as they worshipped, among other things, the bridle of a horse, they were survivors of the priests of the Palli Scythian race. They are said to give a bride-price at marriage. They appear all over Upper India as money-lenders, merchants and cultivators. A great misfortune fell upon them in 1156 A. D. when Sivaji, the founder of the Râthaur dynasty and son of the King of Kanauj, passed Pâli on his return from a pilgrimage to Dwârika. The Brâhmans of Pâli sent a deputation to him asking for protection from the two evils which prevailed—the Mînas of the Aravalli range and the lions. Sivaji relieved them from both; but the opportunity to acquire land was too good to be lost, and on the festival of the Holi he put the leading Brâhmans to death and seized Pâli.¹

¹ *Annals of Râjasthân*, II, 15.

*Distribution of Palliwâl Brâhmans according to the Census of
1891.*

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Sahâranpur . .	1	Farrukhâbâd . .	6
Muzaffarnagar . .	61	Etah . . .	48
Meerut . . .	397	Cawnpur . . .	67
Bulandshahr . .	213	Jâlaun . . .	102
Aligarh . . .	154	Lalitpur . . .	6
Mathura . . .	343	Jaunpur . . .	122
Agra . . .	114	TOTAL . .	1,684

Palwâr, Paliwâr.—A sept of Râjputs confined almost altogether to the Gorakhpur Division and the Faizâbâd District. According to the Faizâbâd tradition,¹ one Prithivirâj Deo, Sombansi, known also as Mûr Deo or Bhûr Deo, came from the village of Pâli in the district of Hardoi in 1248 A. D. and took up his residence in the village of Rannupur, where he accepted service under the Bhars. From his native place he and his descendants gave up the name of Sombansi and adopted that of Palwâr. He is said to have formed a connection with a fairy (*deokanya*) or a witch (*ddîn*), and by her he had a son Harihar Deo, who formed attachments with an Ahîrin and a Bharin, of whom there are multitudinous descendants in the Azamgarh District. These descendants have become known as Dainiyas or “children of the witch” and Bantariyas or “dwellers in the woods.” Tradition says that on one occasion, soon after the birth of her son, this lady of the woods was engaged in the homely office of baking cakes, when her infant, which lay some paces off, began to cry. She had either to neglect the baby or the cakes; when, as her husband arrived, he saw his fairy wife assume supernatural and gigantic proportions, so as to allow of the baking and nursing to go on together. When she saw she was discovered she disappeared for ever, leaving the child as a legacy to her astonished husband.

2. According to another version of the legend the founder of the sept was one Patrâj of the Sombansi tribe, who is said to have

¹ *Settlement Report*, 153.

migrated from the neighbourhood of Delhi to Bandipur in Faizâbâd, where he made himself famous in his contests with the Râjbhars. He had four wives of different castes—a Râjput, an Ahîr, a Bhar and one whose caste is unknown. Their descendants were the Palwârs, Ahiriniya, Bhariniya and Dainiya.¹

3. In a third version they claim a connection with Sandi-Pâli, which the Sombansis of that place deny. On this the Palwârs change ground and refer their origin to Pâli near Delhi, or to a village of that name in the Partâbgarh District, which is likely enough, as that is one of the chief seats of the Sombansi sept in the present day.²

4. Some interest has been taken in the tribe on account of the Chaurâsi or group of eighty-four villages which Sir H. M. Elliot attributed to them in the Gorakhpur District. On this Mr. Carnegie writes³:—"Sir H. M. Elliot, in his extraordinary article in his Supplemental Glossary on Chaurâsi, speaks of a collection of eighty-four villages in Pargana Anaula (should be Bhawapâr) in the Gorakhpur District, where their possessions, which have been mostly confiscated for their proceedings in 1857, are said by the tribe to have commenced with eighty-four *bîghas* of land and soon to have swelled into eighty-four full villages. But the fact is the whole of the Gorakhpur, Faizâbâd and Azamgarh Palwârs spring from one common ancestor. The system of reckoning by Chaurâsi and Biyâlisi, so much dwelt on by Sir H. M. Elliot, is uncommon in this part of Oudh—in fact few natives understand it; but the number 49 seems with these very Palwârs to have a special charm. For instance, they talk of *unchâs kos kâ bhât*, which means that on the occasion of ceremonial gatherings of the tribe to commemorate a birth, marriage or death, all the members inhabiting a circle of 49 *kos*, which area is supposed to represent their proprietary possessions, are invited to attend and eat the bread of sociability. Of these, however, the Surharpur (Bandipur) branches are debarred from eating and drinking with the tribe by reason of illegitimacy; and Atrauliya branch because it is stained with blood. Members of these branches on such occasions are obliged to content themselves with having dry rations served out to them in lieu of cooked viands. The absurdity of the former of these exclusions, and of the system

¹ Census Report, N.-W. P., 1865, II, 112, sq.

² Census Report, 200.

³ Faizâbâd Settlement Report, 206, sq.



PANKA

of caste generally, is forcibly illustrated by the following instance: A female of the Surharpur illegitimate branch and another of the Birhar legitimate branch both married into the orthodox Râjkumâr family of the Râja of Dera, and thereafter both branches were alike admitted to the Râja's social board. Both parties then eat and drink with the Râja, but they still will not eat and drink with each other; and they thus remain a living confutation of the mathematical axiom that things that are equal to the same thing are equal to each other. *Uncâds kos ki kumak* is another common expression with these people, which means that the proprietors within an area of 49 *kos* were wont in the king's time to make common cause in opposing the aggressions of the Meopur faction of the Râjkumârs and all others."

5. The turbulence of the sept in Gorakhpur during the Mutiny led to the confiscation of nearly all their possessions, and they have now fallen on evil days and possess little rank or influence.

6. In Faizâbâd the Palwârs give brides to the Gargbansi, Sûraj-bansi, Chandel, Bachgoti, Bais and Chauhân septs. In Azamgarh they claim to belong to the Bhârgava *gotra*; take brides from the Bais, Râthaur, Bisen, Chauhân, Raghubansi, Donwâr and Chandel septs; and marry their daughters to members of the Sûrajbans, Kalhans, Râjkumâr, Raghubansi, Sirnet and Chandrabansi septs.

Distribution of Palwâr Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Agra . . .	29	Azamgarh . . .	7,664
Jâlaun . . .	5	Kheri . . .	1,206
Jaunpur . . .	11	Faizâbâd . . .	5,587
Ghâzipur . . .	80	Sultânpur . . .	177
Gorakhpur . . .	3,376	Bârabanki . . .	14
Basti . . .	231	TOTAL . . .	18,880

Panka, Panika.—A low weaving and watchman tribe in South Mirzapur. They are the same people who are known in Bengal as Pân, Panwa, Paur, Pâb, Panika, Chik, Chik Baraik, Ganda, Mahato, Sawâsi or Tânti. In Mirzapur they are known as Panka,

Panika or Pankiya and Kotwâr, the last of which, in relation to their occupation as village watchmen, means "keeper or porter of a castle" (Sanskrit *kota* or *koshika pāla*). The name Panka or Panika is usually taken from *panik*, which means the elastic bow which the weaver uses to extend the cloth as it is woven; but the Bengali synonyms for the caste make this uncertain. Colonel Dalton was disposed from their appearance to believe them of Aryan or Hindu, rather than Dravidian origin, and describes them as "in all probability remnants of the Aryan colonies that the Hos subjugated."¹ This is disputed by Mr. Risley,² who remarks that "the most cursory examination of the exogamous divisions of the Pâns affords convincing evidence of their Dravidian origin." Though they have lost in Mirzapur their totemistic septs, still their appearance clearly indicates their connection with the Dravidian races like the Majhwârs. They say that Parameswar created the first man of the caste out of water (*pân*) and appointed him his water-carrier. One day Parameswar sent him to bring fire. He went in search of fire to a place where the Majhwârs were eating, and they gave him a share of their food. He returned to Parameswar, who taxed him with eating with such degraded people. He denied the charge, but Parameswar gave him a blow on his back and he immediately vomited up a quantity of rice and pulse. So Parameswar turned him out of Heaven, and the Pankas have since then gone down in the world and eat with Majhwârs. The Mirzapur Pankas describe themselves as emigrants from Bâhmandeva in Riwa, and fix the date of their arrival some eight or ten generations ago.

2. They have lost, if they ever possessed, the elaborate scheme of totemistic septs which are found among the Pâns of Bengal. Their rules of exogamy prohibit marriage with the daughter of the maternal uncle or of their father's sister, and they also do not marry in their own family as long as the members are united and live together, no matter how distant relatives may reside under the same roof. This abhorrence of marriage between persons residing closely together from early youth is, according to one theory, the basis of the rule of exogamy.³ They have a tribal council known as

Tribal organization
and exogamy.

¹ *Descriptive Ethnology*, 185.

² *Tribes and Castes*, II, 158.

³ See Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 320, sqq.

kutumāyat or kabildāri.¹ There is no permanent president, but at each meeting the most respectable person present takes the chair.

3. Differences of wealth or social position (except the practice of degrading employments, such as shoe-making) are not a bar to marriage. Polygamy is permitted, but they can seldom afford more than one wife. If there are more wives than one, the head wife alone is mistress of the household and shares in the family worship. If an unmarried girl is detected in an intrigue with a clansman, her parents have to give a tribal feast and she is then restored to caste: but if her lover be an outsider, she is permanently expelled. The bride price amounts to five rupees in cash and two maunds of rice and pulse. The rules as to physical defects in bride and bridegroom agree with those of the allied tribes.

4. Divorce is permitted in case of adultery in either party or if either eat with a low caste person like a Dom, Chamār or Dusādh. But the intention to divorce must be announced before, and sanctioned by, the tribal council.

Widow marriage and the levirate.

5. Widow marriage and the levirate are permitted on the usual conditions.

Succession, adoption and relationship.

6. The rules on these subjects correspond in every way with those of the Majhwārs.

7. The woman is delivered on a cot and is attended by a Chamāin midwife, who cuts the cord and buries it under the cot. The woman receives no food

for two days: on the third she gets rice and cakes made of pulse and pumpkin (*konkauri*). They have the usual sixth day (*chhathi*) and twelfth day (*barahi*) ceremonies, after which the woman is clean and resumes her household work. A husband does not cohabit with his wife for three or four months after her confinement.

8. The only ceremony in adoption is the announcement of the fact and the exchange of mutual promises before the leader of the council.

Adoption ceremony.

9. The marriage ceremonies do not appreciably differ from those of the cognate tribes. The betrothal is clenched by the boy's father sending to the bride's

Marriage ceremonies.

¹ The first name means "family council," Sanskrit *kutumba* = the household; the latter an importation from the Arabic *qabīl* = kindred.

house five rupees and three or five sers of coarse sugar (*gur*). This is called *neg bharna*. Three days before marriage is the *matmangar* ceremony (see *Bhuiya* ¹). When the procession reaches the door of the bride, the relatives of the bridegroom distribute betel-nut among those of the bride, who return the compliment. After the procession returns to the reception place (*janwānsa*), the bride's mother goes there with five sers of coarse sugar and three tooth brushes (*datuan*): with these the bridegroom has to clean his teeth and she makes him smell the sugar. His father then sends the "offering" (*charhawa*) to the bride—two sheets (*śārī*) and five sers of sugar. At the actual ceremony the bride's sister fills the hands of the bride and bridegroom with rice and dried mangoes. Then the bridegroom rubs some red lead (*sendur*) on the branch of the cotton tree (*semal*) fixed up in the marriage shed (*māstro*) and then smears it over the nose, forehead and parting of the bride's hair. This is the binding part of the ceremony. After this they are taken into the retiring room (*kohabar*) (for the significance of which, see *Majhwār*.²) There the bridegroom has again to smell some sugar. On returning home there is the usual feast, and a day or two afterwards the bride and bridegroom go to "drown the nuptial jars" (*kalsa*) in a neighbouring stream, and on their way home they worship every *pīpal* and banyan tree they meet, and rub red lead on their trunks. This form of marriage is called *charhauwa*.

10. The form of marrying a widow by *sagāi* is very simple.

Marriage by *sagāi*.

The man has to pay three rupees as the bride price to her relations, then he brings her home, and as she enters the house he rubs red lead on the parting of her hair and puts palm leaf ornaments (*tarkī*) in her ears. On that day he feasts the clansmen.

11. Unmarried children and people who die of epidemic disease

are buried: others are cremated.³ When the

Death ceremonies.

mourners return home they pour a little oil on the ground and sit down and console the chief mourner. He goes to the riverside and fixes a bundle of reed grass into the ground, which he and the women of the household water every day at noon

¹ Para. 14.

² Para. 18.

³ This is the custom also in Bengal; Ball, *Jungle Life* 322, note; Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II, 159.

until the obsequies are completed.¹ The death impurity lasts ten days, when the obsequies are concluded by a tribal feast.

12. They profess a sort of bastard Hinduism. They are much

Religion.

afraid of evil spirits (*bhūt*) which commonly reside in *māhus*, *pīpal* or banyan trees.

These are periodically propitiated by offerings of goats and fowls performed by the Baiga. They do not employ Brāhmins in any of their religious ceremonies. Their two great festivals are the Holi and Dasami (Dasahra); but they in no way follow Hindu usage on these festivals, and offer a burnt offering to the marriage god Dulha Deva, who is represented by a piece of rudely cut stone on a mud platform. His worship is performed by the Baiga. They observe the Nāgpanchami festival, but do not appear to have as is the case in Bengal, any special worship of the snake as the ancestor of the tribe.²

13. They believe that old wells, streams and trees are haunted

Demonology and
ancestor worship.

by evil spirits. The Baiga raises a regular yearly subscription to provide for their worship; and offers to them young pigs, fowls

and goats, with a burnt offering (*hom*) of sugar and butter. The tenth day of the second half of the month of Kuār is devoted to the worship of the dead, to whom food and a burnt sacrifice are offered. On the tenth day after a man or woman dies a young pig is sacrificed. At the end of the proceedings they invoke the spirits of the dead in a low voice in these words—"Now live for ever in this house and do not trouble our children." Every day till the tenth day they lay out food at night for the dead along the road by which the corpse was taken to cremation or burial. They are constantly in the fear of the spirits of the dead, and whenever they have a bad dream or a nightmare they offer a burnt sacrifice (*hom*) to them.

14. Women tattoo themselves on the arms in some conventional

Various superstitions.

pattern. If they fail to do this, a woman in the next life is reborn as a Turkin or the

wife of a Muhammadan, on whom they look with special abhorrence. They have the usual omens. They swear by putting a piece of iron in a drinking vessel of water which is held in the hand. No

¹ On the significance of this ceremony, see *Biydr*, para. 14.

² Bialy, *Tribes and Castes*, II., 159,

Panka will violate such an oath. They have a firm belief in witchcraft, and think that a witch can kill a man by looking at him; hence old women suspected of witchcraft are carefully avoided. They also believe that a witch can turn meat into a mass of blood and maggots merely by looking at it. Most diseases are due to demoniacal influence, which is treated by the Baiga. They have a firm belief in the Evil Eye which is avoided by the use of sundry amulets.

15. They regard the cow as Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, and will not eat beef. Any one eating it is put out of caste. Besides the flesh of the cow and buffalo, they will not eat the horse, ass, camel, jackal, lizard or crocodile. They eat pigs, fowls, fish and all kinds of jungle game. The men eat first and women after them. Some men wear a special religious necklace (*kanthi*), and these, when they eat, throw a little bread and water on the ground as an offering to the earth goddess Dharti Mâta. They use liquor and tobacco freely. They salute elders in the form *pâlagi*, and the reply is *asîs*, or a blessing. They respect their women, who work at spinning thread which the men weave. They are very hospitable to clansmen but fear strangers. They will not touch a Chamâr or Dharkâr, nor the wife of the younger brother. The father-in-law and mother-in-law of a married couple do not touch or speak to each other.¹ They will eat food cooked by a Brâhman and no one else. None but a Dom or Ghasiya will touch their leavings.

16. They work as weavers and village watchmen. The loom is known as *dongi*. The main kinds of cloth which they make are the *darap*, *charas* and *bhagua*. The *darap* is a woman's thick sheet worth about two rupees. The *charas* is a loin cloth for men like the Hindu *dhoti*: the *bhagua* a small cloth worn under the loin cloth only by Majhwâr women, for which they get a fancy price.² They often work up cotton into cloth for their customers, and for weaving a *dhoti* receive three sers of *kodo* or *sânwân* millet. Their dress presents no peculiarities. The women wear pewter anklets (*pairi*), glass wrist bangles (*pairi*), a wristlet (*berawa*) and a nose-ring (*nâk*). As may be anticipated from their customs, they are regarded as pure village menials and their social status is very low.

¹ See Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 11, sqq.

² See *Majhwâr*, para. 60.

Pankhiya.—A peculiar class of Muhammadans who are found in the low lands (*khâdir*) of the Ganges in Shâhjahanpur and some of the neighbouring districts. They profess to be strict Muhammadans, but transgress the law of Islâm by eating turtles, crocodiles and other animals usually regarded as forbidden food. They appear to be a fairly well-to-do cultivating class, and their hamlets show a stock of cattle, goats and poultry much larger than that possessed by ordinary Hindu cultivators.¹

Distribution of the Pankhiyas according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Cawnpur . . .	65	Ghâzipur . . .	6
Allâhâbâd . . .	41	Basti . . .	550
Benares . . .	8	Azamgarh . . .	111
Jaunpur . . .	132		
		TOTAL .	913

Pant, Panth—(Sanskrit *pathin*, “a path in morals or religion”) a class of Illl Brâhmans, who ascribe their origin to Mahârâshtra or the Marhâta country. They belong to the Bhâradwâja, Parâsara and Vasishtâ *gotras* and the Madhyandinya *sâkha*. They say that some twenty-one generations ago their ancestor Jayadeva came to Kumaun. In the tenth generation his descendants divided into four branches, named after Sarma, Srinâtha, Nathu and Bhaudâs. Sarma became a physician, Srinâtha, the spiritual preceptor of the Râja, Nathu, a teacher of Paurânîk theology, and Bhaudâs, a soldier. The last-mentioned acquired in camp and court a habit of eating flesh like his Khasiya soldiers, and his descendants retained the custom. But the others confined themselves to vegetable food, as their present representatives do, and even oblige their wives, who come from flesh-eating clans like the Tiwâris and Joshis, to do the same. The Bhâradwâja Pants intermarry with Tripâthis or Tiwâris, Joshis and Pânres. They rarely marry Pants of the two other *gotras*, and their customs and habits and manner of eating and drinking resemble those of other

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, 347, sq.

Hill Brâhmans. Their favourite object of worship is the Vaisṇava Sâkti.¹

Panwâr.—A noted sept of Râjputs who in name represent the ancient Pramâra race. Colonel Tod² calls them the “most potent of the Agnikula or fire races.” “The world is the Pramâr’s” is an ancient saying, and Naukot Marusthali signifies the nine divisions into which the country from the Satlaj to the ocean was divided among them. By another theory they represent the Pauravas, the famous race which, after the time of Alexander, was predominant in Râjasthân under the name of Pramâra. They are mentioned in the Veda and Mahâbhârata, where the first kings of the Lunar race are represented as being Pauravas who reigned over the realms included between the Upper Ganges and the Jumna. They are the Porouaroi or Poruaroi of Ptolemy.³ General Cunningham,⁴ on the contrary, would identify these last with the Paihâr sept. The popular account of them is that they were the third in order of creation from the Agnikunda, and were hence called Pramâra or “first strikers.”

2. In Bombay the Pramâras, who are called a detachment from the Agnikula tribes of Mount Abu, like the others under the same fictional appellation, are, according to Dr. J. Wilson,⁵ descendants of Kulis. Their traditions centre round the State of Dhâr, the Râja of which is still a member of the sept. In remembrance of their heroic defence of the capital they repeat the versè—

Jahân Puâr tahân Dhâr hai ;

Aur Dhâr jahân Puâr ;

Dhâr bina Puâr nahîn ;

Aur nahîn Puâr bina Dhâr.⁶

“Where the Puâr is there is Dhâr ; and Dhâr is where the Puâr is ; there is no Dhâr without the Puâr and no Puâr without Dhâr.” They claim that the great Râjas Bhoja and Vikramaditya of Ujjain were members of their sept, and allege that they were kings of Mâlwa for ten generations after Râja Vikramaditya. The Puâr dynasty of Mâlwa ended with Jaychand ; then Jîtpâl estab-

¹ Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III, 421.

² *Annals*, I, 98, 102.

³ McCrindle, *Indian Antiquary*, XIII, 362.

⁴ *Archæological Reports*, IX, 55, sq.

⁵ *Indian Antiquary*, III, 227.

⁶ Tod, *loc. cit.*, II, 263.

lished the Tomar dynasty which lasted one hundred and forty-two years and was succeeded by the Chauhâns for one hundred and sixty-seven years.¹ They have now a poor reputation in Central India, because they are said to have intermarried with Marhatta Sûdras and the poorest Râjput chief would disdain to eat with them or give them his daughter in marriage.² Colonel Tod asserts that the famous Mauryas were the Mori, a branch of the Pramâra clan, which occupied Chithor in the eighth century. Their *gotras* or sections in Râjputâna are Delât ; Kalât ; Doding ; Kheyât and Pokhariya, of which the Delât is the most numerous.³ The men of the Pokhariya section like to be called Râwat, but are generally called Mer. The chief men are called Gameti. They are an industrious race, generally taller and better built than the Chauhân Minas. The Kalâts will not give their daughters in marriage to this section, but will take wives from them, and they intermarry freely with the Hindu Chîtas and Barârs and the other Mer clans. Their customs are the same as the Chauhân Minas.

3. In these provinces their expulsion from Ujjain under their leader Mitra Sen is ascribed to the attack of the Muhammadans under Shahâb-ud-dîn Ghori. The story⁴ runs that Râja Bijaypâl of Bayâna wished to bring about an alliance between his daughter and the son of Râja Sindpâl of Ujjain, and with this view sent an embassy with presents. Sindpâl, however, objecting to the proposed marriage, ordered the ambassadors to return, but his son Lakhansi meeting them on his own account accepted the proposal, and in spite of his father's objections, brought back the party to Bayâna and there the marriage took place. Villages were then assigned to the prince and princess for maintenance. These, however, proving insufficient, the daughter was sent back to her father some little time after to solicit a further grant. But all that Sindpâl gave his daughter was a sword, which she was instructed to deliver to her husband Lakhansi. He then interpreting the gift, whether rightly or wrongly, to mean that he should extend his possessions by its means, seized and added to his territories fourteen hundred villages, giving them over to his followers. At various times they moved northwards, their first halting-place being the Pargana of

The Panwârs of the
North-Western Prov-
inces and Oudh.

¹ Malcolm, *Central India*, I, 26.

² *Ibid.*, I, 180.

³ *Râjputâna Gazetteer*, II, 45.

⁴ *Census Report, North-Western Provinces, 1885*, B, Appendix 67, *sq.*

Khairagarh, where they are landlords and cultivators. They have in course of time become dispossessed of many of their estates, bartering them for less substantial wealth to Gûjars and Brâhmans.

4. In Farrukhâbâd¹ they trace their colonization to Râja Sindpâl Sinh, who is said to have settled the Pargana of Amritpur by the favour of the Râja of Khor. His sons quarrelled with, and were expelled by, Partit Râê, the Kâyasth minister of the Râja, but one son Basant Sâh returned and recovered his estate. The Bulandshahr² branch say that they came from Nâgpur and Ujjain after their expulsion by Shahâb-ud-dîn Ghori.

5. The Khidmatiya, Barwâr, or Chobdâr are said to be an inferior branch of them, descended from a low-caste woman. No high-caste Hindu eats food or drinks water touched by them. According to the Aîn-i-Akbari³ a thousand men of the sept guarded the environs of the palace of Akbar, and Abul Fazl says of them:—"The caste to which they belong was notorious for highway robbery and former rulers were not able to keep them in check. The effective orders of His Majesty have led them to honesty; they are now famous for their trustworthiness. They were formerly called Mâwis. Their chief has received the title of Khidmat Râê. Being near the person of His Majesty, he lives in affluence. His men are called Khidmatiyas."

6. In Unâo⁴ the Panwârs have two colonies in different parts of the district. In the Morâwan Pargana they occupy about thirty villages. They say that their ancestor, Narhar Sinh Panwâr, distinguished himself in the siege of Chithor under Akbar Shâh and received a grant of this tract of land as a reward for his services. He founded the village of Narhai Chak, which is called after his name. These Panwârs must have been once a powerful clan; but the great encroachment of the Bais reduced them to complete insignificance, and deprived them of a large portion of their land. In Sîtapur,⁵ also, they fix the time of their emigration in the time of Akbar. In Gorakhpur⁶ they are said to have driven the Bisens out of Bhâgalpur, whence the latter retired to Majhauî. In Ghâzipur they trace their origin to Jhânsi and they

¹ *Settlement Report*, 13.

² *Census Report*, 1865, I, Appendix 17.

³ Blochmann, I, 252.

⁴ Elliott, *Chronicles*, 55.

⁵ *Settlement Report*, 57.

⁶ Buchanan, *Eastern India*, II, 365.

are known by the name of Ujjaini. The head of the sept in that part of the country is the Râja of Dumrâon who traces his descent in eighty-six generations from Vikramaditya. The great Râja Sâladitya, who at the beginning of the seventh century overcame the Gupta dynasty, was king of Mâlwa and no doubt belonged to this clan.¹ In Jhânsi they are regarded as a shade higher than the Bundelas and in consequence all powerful chiefs take their daughters in marriage. "They are needy and as proud as Lucifer and will always eke out their living by robbery if they can."² In Mahona of the Lucknow District they have, from their connection with the Delhi Court, adopted some Musalmân practices, such as fastening their coats to the left and paying reverence to the *tásiaks* emblematical of the martyrs Hasan and Husain, which are carried about at the Muharram, and they have before their residence a large stone which they hold in almost sacred reverence. They say that they brought it from Delhi and that it is their symbol of right to their estates which were granted to them by the Delhi Emperor; he is said to have enjoined them to take it as the foundation for their future settlement. Whenever a new Râja succeeds, he places upon it an offering of flowers, sweetmeats, and a few rupees.³

7. In Jâlaun the Panwárs give brides to the Bais, Bhâlê Sultân, Nikumbh, and Ahhan, and marry girls of the Chauhân, Kachhwâha, Parihâr, Sengar, Bhadauriya, Râthaur, and Chandel septs. In Unâo they marry their daughters to Dikhits beyond the Ganges, Gaurs, Chandels, Kachhwâhas, Chauhâns, Hâras, and Râthaus; and their sons to Chauhân and Dikhit girls.

Distribution of the Panwâr Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muhammaddans.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dûn	2,265	...	2,265
Sahâranpur	251	313	564
Muzaffarnagar	186	486	622
Meerut	1,794	...	1,794

¹ Oldham, *Memorandum*, 1, 56, sq.

² Sleeman, *Journey through Oudh*, I, L V.

³ *Settlement Report*, LXI.

*Distribution of the Panwâr Râjputs according to the Census
of 1891—contd.*

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muhamma- dans.	TOTAL.
Bulandshahr	1,513	553	2,066
Aligarh	817	...	817
Mathura	683	2,686	3,369
Agra	7,366	12	7,378
Farrukhâbâd	2,994	8	3,002
Mainpuri	819	...	819
Etâwah	504	...	504
Etah	624	5	629
Bareilly	243	...	243
Bijnor	233	...	233
Budâun	778	123	901
Morâdâbâd	2,035	...	2,035
Shâhjahânpur	4,669	...	4,669
Pilibhît	310	...	310
Cawnpur	4,609	41	4,650
Fatehpur	1,263	...	1,263
Bânda	2,299	28	2,327
Hamîrpur	1,240	10	1,250
Allahâbâd	517	...	517
Jhânsi	1,045	5	1,050
Jâlaun	671	...	671
Lalitpur	3,241	1	3,242
Benares	465	88	553
Mirzapur	126	...	126
Jaunpur	4,105	7	4,112
Ghâzipur	691	783	1,474
Ballia	2,248	191	2,439



PARAHIYA.

Distribution of the Panwâr Râjputs according to the Census of 1891—concl'd.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muhamma- dans.	TOTAL.
Gorakhpur	3,267	125	3,392
Basti	1,370	7,366	8,736
Azamgarh	1,485	1,417	2,882
Taîâi	3,214	...	3,214
Lucknow	2,664	1	2,665
Unâo	2,140	95	2,235
RÂâ Bareli	1,097	61	1,158
Sîtâpur	2,845	587	3,432
Hardoi	6,143	...	6,143
Kheri	9	348	357
Faizâbâd	3,265	343	3,608
Gonda	336	...	336
Bahrâich	91	25	116
Sultânpur	705	73	778
Partâbgarh	190	...	190
Bârabanki	1,108	22	1,130
TOTAL	80,563	15,803	96,366

Parahiya, Parhaiya.—A Dravidian tribe found in small numbers in Pargana Dudhi in Mirzapur. The word is said to mean, in Gondi, "burners of the jungle." Bishop Caldwell¹ writes :—"It has been said that the name Pareiya or Pariah is synonymous with that of the Pahariyas (from *pahâr*, 'a hill') a race of mountaineers, properly called Malers, inhabiting the Râjmahâl Hills in Bengal: and hence it is argued that the Pareiyas may be considered, like the Pahariyas, as a race of non-Aryan, non-Dravidian aborigines. It is an error, however, to

¹ *Comparative Grammar*, 549.

suppose that there is any connection between these two names. The word Pariah, properly Pareiya, denotes not a mountaineer, but a drummer, a word regularly derived from *parai*, 'a drum,' especially the great drum used at funerals. The name Pareiya is, in fact, the name of a hereditary occupation, the Pareiyas being the people who are generally employed at festivals, and especially at funerals, as drummers." Dr. Oppert¹ considers it means a mountaineer, from the Dravidian root *para*, "a hill."

1. Those I have seen in Dudhi are a very wild looking set of men, about five feet three inches in height:

Appearance. not as robust as the Korwas, but still a strong, active race. Some have very scanty beards and moustaches. Some shave the front of the head, while others keep all their hair and leave it entirely unkempt. Colonel Dalton noticed considerable variety of features among them. Some, he thinks, might be classed as Negro, others as Mongolian. The former were dark and prognathous; the latter bright copper coloured, with flat, broad faces, and slightly oblique eyes.² He thinks that they are closely akin to the Bhuiyârs.³ Mr. Forbes also notices the variety of type among them, and remarks that they are so athletic and powerful, that "as strong as a Parahiya" has passed into a proverb.⁴ In Mirzapur they are renowned for their swiftness in running.

2. The members of the tribe in Mirzapur fix their headquarters in the villages of Jhânsi and Uspar, in Sarguja, close to the British frontier. Traditions of origin. They have emigrated from there in quite recent times, and the emigration is still going on. They still go to their original home at the festivals of the Râmnaumi and Dasahra. There is no temple there, but in one of the chief men's houses there is a shrine to Devi called "the House of God" (*deoghar*). There they worship the goddess, by each man throwing a little butter and resin (*dhatp*) on the fire as a burnt offering (*hom*). After that, butter cakes (*pûris*) are offered and consumed by the worshippers.

¹ *Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsa*, 32, sq.

² *Descriptive Ethnology*, 131.

³ *Ibid.*, 284, note.

⁴ *Settlement Report on Palamau*, quoted in Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal*, XVI., 297.

3. The Mirzapur people profess ignorance of the totemistic
 Tribal organisation and rules of exogamy. septs recorded by Mr. Risley.¹ They must marry within the tribe and the only prohibited degrees are that a man cannot marry his daughter to the son of his brother or cannot marry himself into the family of his children. These are perhaps about the most simple rules of exogamy to be found in any tribe in these Provinces. They have a tribal council called "the brotherhood" (*bhaiyāri*). The rules do not differ from those in the allied tribes. The usual punishment is a two days' feast to the brethren. Adultery, or fornication with a person of another caste, is punished with excommunication for five years. The president (*Mahto*) is a hereditary permanent official. If any one disobeys his orders, he is tied up and beaten with rods. Polygamy is recognized, but as a rule a man does not take a second wife unless the first is barren.² The senior wife rules the household and shares in the family worship: if she is not treated with respect, they believe that the family goes to ruin. The wives live apart in separate huts. Polyandry is forbidden. Intertribal incontinence in women is easily condoned, but young women are kept shut up at night and not allowed to go about alone. In the case of intrigues in the tribe, the offenders are brought before the council, and are not allowed to sit on the tribal mat (*tāt*) until they feed the clansmen. Men or women found misbehaving themselves with a stranger to the tribe are permanently expelled. The marriage age is 12 for both boys and girls. The marriage is arranged by the boy's father under the advice of the Mahto. The bride-price is one measure (*pasari*) of *adnawn* millet, five rupees in cash, and five cakes. This is the invariable rate fixed by tribal custom.

4. Divorce is easily managed. Either husband or wife can
 Divorce. leave the other whenever they please. If the wife leaves her husband without due cause shown to the satisfaction of the Mahto, her relations are obliged to refund the bride-price. In ordinary cases of divorce, all that is necessary is to inform the Mahto. A divorced man or woman can re-marry. In the case of illicit connections, the children follow the

¹ *Tribes and Castes*, II., App., 118.

² *Westermarck, History of Human Marriage*, 488.

caste of the father, but a son of a Parahiya by a strange woman will not be admitted to full caste rights.

5. Widow marriage and the levirate are permitted as among
Widow marriage and the levirate. Bhuiñhârs (para. 8). The same is the case
Adoption. with adoption, (*ibid.*, para. 9).

6. The custom of Beena marriage (*gharjaiyân*) prevails. In
Beena marriage. this case the man who serves for his bride
acquires no rights from his father-in-law
but inherits his father's estate.

7. All they know about succession is that a man's sons are his
Succession. heirs, and that the eldest son gets somewhat
in excess of the others, as the Mahto directs.
If there are no sons, the nearest agnates inherit.

8. No Parahiya can name more than three generations in the
Relationship ascending line—father, paternal grandfather,
and maternal grandfather,—and sons and
daughters and grand children in the descending line.

9. The birth ceremonies agree closely with those of the allied
Birth ceremonies. tribes like the Bhuiñhârs (para. 12), but
they are attended by the Chamâin mid-
wife, who buries the cord under a tree in the jungle. On the
third day at the exact time the child was born, the Dhobi comes
and carries off the dirty clothes to the wash, and the baby is washed
by the midwife. Then the mother is bathed and dressed in clean
clothes by the husband's sister (*nanad*), who also re-plasters the
delivery-room. Though this is done on the third day, they know
it as the sixth-day ceremony (*chhathî*). A month after the Dhobi
again takes away the mother's clothes and washes them. The
mother bathes, throws away all the earthen vessels, which were in
the delivery-room (*saur*), and changes the water pots in the house.
Then she cooks for the family and is pure. The extension of
the period of impurity, as compared with those in the cognate tribes,
marks the strong dread felt by primitive races of the menstrual and
parturition discharges.¹

10. There is no actual ceremony at puberty, but the initiation of
the child into caste is represented by the
Puberty ceremony. ear-boiling (*kanchhedan*), which takes place in

¹ On this question, see *Mañhadr*, para. 35.

the fifth year, and after which the child must conform to caste regulations in the matter of food.

11. The marriage ceremony closely follows that of the Bhuihârs, and there is a clear survival of marriage by capture in the custom by which, when he comes to be married, the bridegroom marches straight into the inner room and drags out the bride to the marriage shed, while she carries on a pretended struggle with him. The binding portion of the ceremony is the marking of the forehead of the pair by the bride's father with a mixture of curds and rice. There appears to be no trace of the Palamau custom by which oil or *ghi* is poured over the head and allowed to run down the face.¹ If the betrothal is annulled by either side the bride-price must be returned.

12. Unmarried persons and those who die of small-pox or cholera are buried - all others are cremated. As among all the other Dravidian races, the dead are buried with the head to the South.² When a corpse is burnt, the feet are placed to the South. The ashes are floated away (*serua dena*) by being thrown into a running stream on the day of cremation. The final ceremony, the "tenth" (*dawdn*), is done on any day which may be convenient. On that day all shave and wash their clothes, and when they come to the house of the dead man, each one touches with his finger a mixture of oil and turmeric; after which they eat together, and the death impurity ceases.

13. At this "tenth day" ceremony they kill and eat a goat in the name of the deceased, that he may not return and trouble them. When the dead are neglected, they return in evil dreams and bring death and disease. They are propitiated by offering a sacrifice under a *sal* (*shorea robusta*) tree. In the month of Aghan, there is a special worship of the dead, when a cock and goat are sacrificed in their honour. The worshippers cower down in abject terror and murmur "Fathers! protect our children and our cattle."

14. They pretend to be Hindus, but their worship is of a non-Aryan type. They worship the Dih, or collective village gods, and a female deity, Sairi

¹ Forbes, *Settlement Report*, quoted in the *Statistical Account of Bengal*, XVI., 297.

² Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 158.

Devi¹ with offerings of fowls, goats, and a burnt sacrifice (*hom*). The time for this worship is on a Monday in the months of Sâwan or Baisâkh. They have no temple, but offer the sacrifice under a *sâl* (*shorea robusta*) tree. At the same time they worship deceased ancestors and propitiate Mother Earth (*Dharti Mâta*) by pouring a little milk or liquor on the ground. They do not seem to have any knowledge of Gohet, which is one of their local gods in Lohârdaga.² Any one may make this offering. In each house there is a small mud platform dedicated to the sainted dead. The village gods and Sairi Devi are worshipped at the ordinary village shrine under a tree in the jungle. In all cases of sacrifice, the worshippers consume the offering. They have three festivals—the Sâwani, Baisâkhi, and Phagua or Holi. On the two first, so called from the months in which they take place, they offer a burnt sacrifice (*hom*), a goat, and a fowl to the local gods and Sairi Devi. These festivals are held in the light fortnight of the month and usually on a Monday or Friday: but Monday is more usual. At the Phagua, they do not burn the Holi, but, as at the other festivals, drink and practise rude debauchery. They believe that evil spirits (*bhût, pret*) live in the *makua*, *sâl*, and *pîpal* trees: at such trees they make offerings and will not cut them or climb their branches. They also believe in a vague way that Devi lives in certain hills and mountains where they occasionally offer a goat. For this animal they have a peculiar respect.³ Before they sacrifice a goat, they feed the animal on a few grains of rice, and then pour water on its head before sacrifice. This is called "the worship of the goat" (*bakra pûjan*). Sometimes, after worship, the goat is released in the jungles as a scape-goat, and this is particularly done when they worship Devi during an epidemic of small-pox.

15. Their omens, oaths, and ordeals are the same as those of cognate tribes like the Bhuiyârs and Bhuiyas.
 Omens, oaths, ordeals. Dreams are interpreted by the senior man of

¹ The common explanation of her name is because "she moves about" (Arabic *sair*), but this is very improbable. She may be connected with Sewanriya, who appears to be a deity of boundaries; see *Bhutnâhr*, para. 16.

² Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II., 164.

³ It is curious that the Bengal Parahiya have a tradition that their tribe formerly held sheep and deer sacred, and used the dung of these animals to smear floors with, as they now use cowdung.—Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 181, note.

They were possibly the tribal totems. The Mirzapur Parahiya seem to have transferred this feeling of respect to the goat.

the family, and always imply the displeasure of the sainted dead. Disease always comes from them, and in such cases an Ojha is consulted. Of the Evil Eye, they assert they have no knowledge.

16. Beef is not eaten, but they admit that this rule is of modern growth and in imitation of their Hindu neighbours. They will not touch a Dom, Chamâr, Ghasiya, or Dharkâr. They will not eat food cooked by any one but a clansman. Women are not allowed to eat pork or to join in worship. A man cannot touch his younger brother's wife, and connection with her is considered the worst form of incest. They will not mention by name the dead, nor their fathers, nor the headman of the tribe.

17. They will not eat beef or the flesh of the horse, camel, ass, alligator, monkey, lizard, or snake. Any other kind of meat is allowed. Women are not allowed to eat pork. The men eat before the women, and they have no ceremony at meals. They do not smoke the water-pipe (*hugga*), but use those made of leaves known as *chungî*,¹ and chew the dry tobacco (*surtî*). They use *dhung* and liquor freely, which are believed to keep off malaria, but habitual drunkenness is considered discreditable. They salute each other in the form known as *pâêlagî*, but they are now beginning to do the ordinary *salâm* to strangers and superiors. Generally, in the presence of a superior, they stand on one leg, take off what answers to a turban, and bow the head to the ground. They speak a sort of broken Hindi much intermixed with Mundâri and Gondî. They rank fairly high among these jungle tribes, having much the same status as the Chero. Chamârs, Dharkârs, and Doms will eat food cooked by them, and they pride themselves on their abstinence from beef as a mark of respectability. Kalwârs drink with them, but will not take water from their hands. The men wear earrings of gold or brass in both ears: the women pewter anklets (*pairî*) and brass wristlets (*churla*). They now do a little cultivation, but quite recently they never stored any grain, plucking and parching the crop as it got ripe. They usually pay about three rupees per annum for as much land (*tora*) as they can cultivate with a single plough. They make a living by cutting and selling wood and bamboos, and by collecting and exchanging forest produce, such as lac, silk-cocoons, and various dyes, fibres, etc. But they are

¹ See *Korwa*, para. 18.

a miserable people, living in little huts, apart from each other, along the hills, and with little clan feeling or effective tribal organization.

18. The following account of their brethren just across the

The Palamanu Para-
hiyas.

border in Palamanu may be quoted:—"In their habits and customs they present a curious mixture of the Hindu and the Aborigines:

they are certainly not pure Mundas: they may be Kurkus, who are a branch of the Munda family. They differ so much in personal appearance, that it is difficult to assign them any distinct physiological features. I have seen many of them that might almost be mistaken for Korwas, while others are a tall, fair, handsome race of men, with features rather Aryan than otherwise, and so athletic and powerful, that the expression 'as strong as a Parhaiya' has almost passed into a proverb: these last have none of the Negrito stamp about them. Many of them are to be found residing in the plains, but they generally choose the more jungly villages, and reside in a separate hamlet (*tola*): some are good cultivators, but the majority, like the Brijiyas, live in the hill ranges, and roam about from spur to spur, clearing small patches of ground, and cultivating a few hardy crops: they also bring down to the plains honey, beeswax, resin, lac, and other jungle products, which they barter for grain, salt, tobacco, and cloth. Most of them have Brâhmans as priests, and employ the barber at marriages. Hindus of every class will drink water from their hands, and eat any food, but rice, that has been cooked by them: and, strange to say, they carry their Hindu prejudices so far that they will not eat *ghî* that has been kept in a jar (*kuppa*) made of cow hide. They always smear the cooking-places with cowdung, and eat barefooted like the Hindus. They know nothing whatever of their former history: in fact the only ancient custom of the tribe that I have been able to discover is that they formerly held deer and sheep sacred, and used the manure of these animals, where we now use cowdung. Notwithstanding their affectation of Hinduism, they still adhere to many of their old customs, which decidedly point to their origin. Marriage rarely takes place before the age of puberty. In their wedded life they are chaste and moral: before this takes place, the intercourse between the sexes is unrestricted. They never marry out of their tribe, and any woman found misbehaving with a male of an alien tribe is at once outcasted; and so with the males. Notwithstanding the employment of Brâhmans and barbers, their marriage ceremony is

simple and decidedly aboriginal. I have never witnessed one of their marriages, and am unable, therefore, to describe all that takes place : but the principal part of the ceremony consists in pouring *ghî* or oil upon the forehead of the bride, and allowing it to run down the face. If it trickles from the centre of the forehead straight down the ridge of the nose, the fates are propitious and the marriage will be a happy one : if, on the contrary, the *ghî* or oil trickles down to the right or left, it is a sign either that the girl will shortly die or prove unfaithful : and very often in this case the marriage is broken off, and the maiden has to wait till another seeks her hand.”¹

Paramahansa.—A general term for any notable ascetic, more especially one of the higher order of Sannyâsis and more particularly Dandi Sannyâsis. “He is the ascetic who is solely occupied with the investigation of Brahma, or spirit, and who is equally indifferent to pleasure or pain, insensible to heat or cold, and incapable of satiety or want. Agreeably to this definition, individuals are sometimes met with who pretend to have attained such a degree of perfection ; in proof of it, they go naked in all weathers, never speak, and never indicate any natural want. What is brought to them as alms or food by any person is received by the attendants, whom their supposed sanctity or confederation of interest attaches to them, and by these attendants they are fed and served on all occasions as if they were as helpless as infants. They are usually included among the Saiva ascetics, but it may be doubted whether the classification is correct.”²

Pardesi (Literally “foreigners”).—A class of thieves and swindlers who, in the old Criminal reports, are classed with the Jogis of Aligarh and the Daleras of Bareilly. In 1868, a gang of them was captured and convicted in Gorakhpur, since when nothing more has been recorded of them. But recent enquiries show that there are still twenty-five families of them in Gorakhpur and about as many in the adjoining district of Champâran, where, however, they do not appear under that name in Mr. Risley’s lists. The Gorakhpur Pardesis are still suspected of swindling in the disguise of *faqîrs* or pilgrims. They are not shown separately in the returns of the last Census.

Parihâr.—(Sanskrit *parihâra* “repelling”) A sept of Râjputs

¹ W. L. R. Forbes, *Report*, p. 45.

² Wilson, *Essays*, I., 231 sq.

whose name is popularly derived from the fact that, when the first of the race issued from the *Agnikunda* or "fire-pit," he was placed as guardian of the gate (*prithahdwâra*). The story how they supplanted the Kachhwâhas is given in connection with that sept. The Parihâr dynasty of Gwâlîor ¹ lasted for seven generations from 1129 to 1211 A.D. Kutab-ud-dîn Aibeg took the city in 1196; during the short reign of Azam it was re-taken by the Hindus, who held it till 1232 A.D., when the Parihâr dynasty became extinct. To the south of the Bolingæ Ptolemy places the Porvaroi with their three towns, named Bridama, Tholobana, and Malaita. They were probably either the Parihâr or Panwâr Râjputs, who occupied this part of the country from a very early date. The Parihâr Râja of Uchahara traces his lineage to a very remote date. As the Parihârs are said to have been subjected by the Kalachûris they were probably in possession of the country before the Kalachûri conquest of Kalinjar and the establishment of the Kalachûri or Chedi era in 249 A.D. They claim to have preceded the Chandels and Baghels in Bundelkhand and Rîwa. The Mahoba Khand ² mentions the Parihâr minister of Parmâl, the Chandel, in the twelfth century and must therefore, be at least contemporary with the Chandels. The head of the family now lives in the Native State of Jagni. They call themselves descendants of Govind Deva, and Sârang Deva grandson of the celebrated Parihâr Râja Jhajhâr Singh of Hamîrpur who emigrated there from Mâiwâr. According to Colonel Tod ³ the capital city of the Parihârs was Mandâwar, from which they were treacherously expelled by Chondu, the leader of the Râthaur exiles from Kanauj. He notes that there is a considerable colony of them at the confluence of the Chambal with the Sindh and the Kuâri, "who are the most notorious body of thieves in the annals of Thag history."

2. They have maintained this evil reputation as inhabiting in Etâwah ⁴ "that intricate and inaccessible net-work of ravines that abuts on the Pachnadi as the confluence of the Jumna, Chambal, Sindh, Kuâri, and Pâhuj is here called. They have been a particularly lawless and desperate community." They here fix their rise after the defeat of Anangpâl of Delhi. Some of them have

The Parihârs of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

¹ Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, II., 376, sq.

² *North-Western Provinces Gazetteer*, I., 267.

³ *Annals*, I., 108, sq.

⁴ *Census Report*, N. W. P., 1865 I., App. 85.

recently raised their importance by marriages with Chauhân and Sengar families. The sept in the Unão¹ District inhabit the Pargana of Sikandarpur and possess a Chaurâsi or estate of eighty-four villages. According to their tradition they came from Jigini or Srinagar in Kashmîr. "About three hundred years ago, in the time of the Emperor Humayun, a Dikshit girl from Parenda was married to the son of the Parihâr Râja, who lived in Jigini across the Jumna. The bridegroom came with a large escort of his friends and brotherhood to celebrate the marriage and the party on their journey passed through Sarosi. As they sat round a well (the locality of which is still shown, though the well has fallen) they asked who were the lords of the fort which stood not far off. They were told that it was held by Dhobis and other Sûdras who held the neighbouring country. The procession then went on to Parenda and, returning, conducted the bride to her home. Just before the Holi festival, a party headed by Bhâgê Sinh returned, waited for the evening of that riotous feast, and then, when the guards of the fort were heavy with wine, and no danger was looked for, suddenly attacked and slaughtered them and made themselves masters of the surrounding country." Their property became reduced because the law of primogeniture did not apply in the sept, and it gradually became divided among the heirs. They intermarry with the Kachhwâhas and Chauhâns of the West, but have to pay heavily for their brides. They seem to have disputed with the Gautams for the territory on the Jumna below Kâlpî, but were both finally overcome by the Chandels. Dr Buchanan² asserts a connection between the Eastern branch and the Bhars; but in Gorakhpur they are held in good repute. In Azamgarh³ they say that they came from Narwan and settled in Pargana Muhammadâbâd, whence they were driven out by the Gaharwârs. In Jâlsun they give brides to the Bais and Gautam septs; and take girls in marriage from the Kachhwâha, Bhadauriya, Chandel and Râthaur. In Hamîrpur they marry their girls to the Mainpuri Chauhâns, Bhadauriyas, Jâdons and Râthaur; and their sons to girls of the Dikshit, Bais, Chandel, Gautam, Sengar, Gaur and Chauhân of the Cawnpur District. Their *Gotra* is said in Agra to be Kasyapa.

¹ Elliott, *Chronicles*, 58, 299.

² *Eastern India*, II., 468, Dr. Oppert (*Original Inhabitants of Bharatvarsa*, 96) would connect their names with the Dravidian *Pârâḍas*.

³ *Settlement Report*, 62.

Distribution of the Parihâr Rājputs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Meerut . . .	20	Jālaun . . .	2,410
Aligarh . . .	8	Lalitpur . . .	428
Mathura . . .	34	Benares . . .	5
Agra . . .	2,772	Mirzapur . . .	126
Farrukhābād . . .	996	Ballia . . .	407
Mainpuri . . .	685	Gorakhpur . . .	93
Etāwah . . .	3,324	Azamgarh . . .	1,146
Etah . . .	93	Tarāi . . .	8
Bijnor . . .	37	Lucknow . . .	68
Budāun . . .	58	Unāo . . .	2,498
Morādābād . . .	22	Rāo Bareli . . .	721
Shāhjahanpur . . .	52	Sitapur . . .	191
Pilibhīt . . .	11	Hardoi . . .	223
Cawnpur . . .	3,162	Kheri . . .	84
Fatehpur . . .	1,646	Faizābād . . .	1
Bānda . . .	732	Bahrāich . . .	134
Hamirpur . . .	3,277	Sultānpur . . .	292
Allahābād . . .	1,346	Partābgarh . . .	189
Jhānsi . . .	4,162	Bārabanki . . .	419
		TOTAL .	31,880

Parwâl; Parwâr, a sub caste of Banyas, enumerated in the former Census in Bundelkhand, Cawnpur and Agra, but who are not found in the returns of the Census of 1891. To the east of the Province they have two endogamous sub-divisions—Samaiya and Parwâl and twelve *gotras* with twelve sections (*maḥl*). These *gotras* with their sections are thus given in Mirzapur:—

(1) Bachhalya with sections—Nárd; Pachlori; Dhumsar; Chharir; Rakari; Kádua; Baré Sareri; Ahari; Kathari; Jageswar; Nagáich; Tahari.

(2) Gail with sections—Bâr; Nagari; Kharo; Bhuri; Luhâieñ; Chhola; Baisákhiya; Karkach; Godhu; Sara; Gâgaro; Barahad.

(3) Bâsil with sections—Deda; Deriya; Bala; Haidam; Doha; Raka; Râvandim; Chhalkar; Sakheswar; Sadravad; Chandari; Pahu.

(4) Khohil with sections—Setsâgar; Kahala; Rathiya; Chhorari; Rohrari; Kharhat; Sonharu; Lagait; Bagari; Khadhari; Birâri; Dhokhadari.

(5) Gohil with sections—Chhatra; Gaha; Mamala; Mahâdim; Baromaro; Indradhar; Baru; Kharahat; Punhara; Gabari; Papihad; Khalasi.

(6) Mâthil with sections—Mar; Rodo; Bâhil; Kathahai; Sakahman; Mandlari; Kharaich; Jhulari; Idoha; Gausil; Bhariwaro; Bharhuri.

(7) Kausil with sections—Bahuriya; Masta; Richa; Osil; Kochhichar; Gagwâro; Suchaha; Sireré; Pabubaré; Chachâri; Basawalo; Sarbsola.

(8) Bharil with sections—Bharu; Big; Khona; Iga; Kuba; Pâbub; Kuchari; Bhagwant; Harari; Bagari; Horir; Gahori.

(9) Kâsil with sections—Ujiya; Divkar; Sarbchhâi; Sola; Digaya; Puthwar; Dhana; Lata; Dhodhara; Dogar; Sanga; Indmur.

(10) Phâgil with sections—Sobar; Gaghari; Phâgil; Buhreré; Chhirari; Baresara; Mangala; Balaichré; Jajaré.

(11) Kohil with sections—Padmâwat; Bebaro; Ghachi; Chhagati; Dahari; Horari.

(12) Bâchhil with sections—Irari; Bibikuttam; Basil; Gaha; Gâjaro.

This list is imperfect in the names of some of the sections, but it illustrates the fertility of invention exercised in establishing this tribal organisation.

2. A man cannot marry in his own *gotra* or in any of its sections; in the section of his maternal

Rule of exogamy.

uncle, father's maternal uncle, grandmother's maternal uncle, maternal grandfather's maternal uncle, maternal grandmother's maternal uncle.

3. In their marriage ceremonies the Parwáls agree with those of the Mārwaris up to the stage where the procession goes to the house of the bride

Marriage ceremonies.

But when the bridegroom reaches the door one peculiar ceremony is performed. They do not at this time worship Gauri and Ganesa as other Hindu castes do, which is known as the *dvārpuja*. Among the Parwáls the bridegroom is there decorated with bangles and ear-rings and then joins his party at the reception place (*janwānsa*). Another special ceremony, known as *bol*, is also performed. In this the bride's father returns to the bridegroom Rs 2-8 out of the sum paid by his father at the betrothal. Then the bride in a litter and the bridegroom on a horse walk round the nuptial shed—a ceremony called *bindiyaki*. On this day the father of the boy feeds his relatives and friends on sweetmeats which is known as the *chabens* or "giving of parched grain." On the fourth day the ceremony of *ganauwa* is done. The bride and bridegroom, dressed in new clothes, stand under the marriage shed and the bride takes some rice and sugar in her hands and walks seven times round the shed. When she finishes the seventh circuit she puts the rice and sugar in the hands of her husband. On the fifth day is the *palaka upachār*. The pair sit on a cot and on it is laid the dowry. After this the pair go to the place where the wedding party is being entertained and distribute sweets among them. Then the bride's brother takes her home. Next is the *kenra* when the women of the bride's family go to where the bridegroom's party are halting and sing songs of abuse directed against the father of the bridegroom—a survival of marriage by capture. After this is the *phāg*. It consists in the relatives of the bride throwing coloured water on the friends of the bridegroom, as is done at the Phagua or Holi. They receive fresh clothes from the girl's father to replace those that have been soiled. Last comes the ceremony of *kahas bandhāi*. The father of the bridegroom distributes presents to dependents, such as the barber, washerman, etc., and the bridegroom comes to the bride's house and opens one of the fastenings of the marriage shed (*māuro*) and receives some money or ornaments from his wife's father.

Pāsi; Passi¹ (Sanskrit *pāshika*, "one who uses a noose") a Dravidian tribe principally found in the Eastern Districts of the

¹ Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by M. Sayyid Ali Bahādur, Deputy Collector, Partabgarh; Mr. E. J. Kitte, C. S.; M. Mahadeo Prasad, Head Master, High School, Pilibhāt.



PÂSI

Province and in Oudh. Their original occupation appears to have been tapping various kinds of the date tree for its sap, which is fermented into târi. Mr. Nesfield's idea that the name implies that they have recently emerged from the savage state of noosing birds does not seem to be justified by actual facts.

2. The Mirzapur tradition of the origin of the tribe runs thus:—

Traditions of origin. One day a man was going to kill a number of cows. Parasurâma was at that time practising austerities in the jungle. Hearing the cries of the sacred animals he rushed to their assistance, but the cow-killer was aided by his friends. So Parasurâma made five men out of *kusa* grass and brought them to life by letting drops of his perspiration fall upon them. Hence arose the name Pâsi from the Hindi *pasîna* "sweat" (Sanskrit *prasinna*, "covered with perspiration"). The men thus created rescued the cows. Then they returned to Parasurâma and asked him to provide them with a wife. Just at that moment a Kâyasth girl was passing by and her Parasurâma seized and made over to the Pâsis—a remarkable survival of a tradition of primitive polyandry. From them sprang the Kaithwâs sub-caste.

3. In parts of Oudh they have a tradition which professes to explain their connection with other possibly allied tribes on the basis of a series of ridiculous folk etymologies. Thus the Râjpâsis say that they are a branch of the Pâsis and originally came from Gujarât. Tilok Chand, instead of being the eponymous hero of the Bais Râjputs, was according to them a Bhar king and called his family Râjbansi or "those of royal lineage" and from this came the name Râjpâsi. After a time they fell out and some took to their beds (*khatya*) and were called Khatiks; others took to the trees in a grove (*bâgh*) and were called Bâchhal; while the remnant were called Râjpâsi or "royal" Pâsis. It is said that the Pâsis and Arakhs there always claim kindred with the Bhars.¹ All through Oudh the Pâsis have traditions that they were lords of the country and that their kings reigned at Sandîla, Dhaurahra, Mitauli and Râmkot in the Districts of Kheri, Hardoi and Unâo.² Râmkot, where the town of Bângarmau in Unâo now stands, is said to have been one of their chief strongholds. The last of the lords of Râmkot, Râja Santhar, threw off his allegiance to Kanauj and

¹ Lucknow Settlement Report, XXIV.

² Oudh Gazetteer, II., 207.

refused to pay tribute. On this¹ Râja Jaychand gave the Gânjar country to the Banâphar heroes, Alha and Udal and they attacked and destroyed Râmkot, leaving it the shapeless mass of ruins which we now find it.¹ Similar traditions prevail in other parts of Oudh. In the Kheri District the Pâsis, Râjpâsis, Arakhs, Mothis and Khatîks are looked on as kindred castes. The Râjpâsis of that part of Oudh say that they are descended from Ratan Dat Sinh, a Thâkur of Pataungarh, near Nîmkhâr, and a Pâsi woman who bore him several children. His descendants went so far as to claim a marriage alliance with the Ahban Râjputs. The head of the clan is said to have yielded consent on the ground of the Râjput paternity of the Râjpâsis, and to have invited the whole of the tribe to the betrothal feast. He plied them well with wine to which the tribe is to this day much addicted, and while they were in a state of drunken insensibility, some seven or eight hundred of them were put to death and their estates seized by the victors. Those who escaped are said to have fled and settled in Bângar, Mahmûdi and the northern part of Sîtapur.²

4. Another legend tells that during the time Parasurâma was incarnate there was an austere devotee called Kuphal who was asked by Brahma to demand of him a boon, whereupon he requested that he might be perfected in the art of thieving. His request was granted and there is a well-known verse regarding the devotions of Kuphal, the pith of which is that the mention of the name of Kuphal, who received a boon from Brahma, removes all fear of thieves; and the mention of his three wives—Mâya (illusion), Nidra (sleep) and Mohani (enchantment) deprives thieves of success in their attempts against the property of those who repeat these names.

5. There is also a tradition that a descendant of Kuphal, named Karan, who dwelt in the jungle and is now deified by his race, had two wives, the one a Chhatri and the other an Ahîin. From the former of these, it is asserted, sprang the Râjpâsis and Bhîls and from the latter the Khatîks.

6. Still another tradition runs that the Pâsis came originally from Kacohh and settled in Kanauj. According to this form of the tribal legend there were four brothers who were called out to

¹ Elliott, *Chronicles of Undo*, 24.

² Carnegy, *Notes*, 61 sq. *Sîtapur Settlement Report*, 88.

fight, and of these Mohan alone responded to the summons. He was killed and of him were sprung the Râjpâsis, while the descendants of the other brothers, who lived to fight another day, are known as Arakhs, Marghas and Thothos. A heroic Pâsi, named Siu of Barniya figures prominently in the legend of Alha and Udal.

7. In the Partâbgarh form of the story the Pâsis, Arakhs, Khatîks and Pachhars are all one. The original Pâsis had a great fight with the Râja of Newâr. Some of them were cowards and hid under a cot (*khatya*) whence they came to be called Khatîks; others behind an *Arka* plant (*Calotropis gigantea*) whence they came to be named Arakhs. Again it is said that there was a Pâsi, named Mahiyan, who was in the service of the Râja of Newâri, and he was the Râja's watchman. One day his pigs trespassed into the fields of a Murâo, named Koeli. He preferred a complaint to that Râja and demanded nine lakhs of rupees as damages. The Râja offered to give him four lakhs, but he insisted, in addition, that Mahiyan should be banished from the kingdom. When Mahiyan was ordered to go into banishment he refused and, summoning his castemen, defeated the army of the Râja; but he spared his life and compelled him to pay a fourth (*chauth*) of his revenue to the Pâsis. This is said to have happened just before the wars of Alha and Udal.

8. Another story current in Partâbgarh is that the ancestor of the tribe was one Ratan Daksha. When Parasurâma destroyed the Kshatriyas he killed Râja Vena as well as the others, and then the Râni kept the corpse of her husband and implored Parasurâma to create from it a man to continue the race. Parasurâma touched the head of Râja Vena and out of it sprung a man of dark complexion with a bow and arrows in his hand. He was the first Râjpâsi and to him was entrusted the duty of watchman of the kingdom. In the form of the story current in Pilibhit the Rishis were offended with Râja Vena for his impiety and killed him; but at the prayer of his Râni they formed a man out of his sweat (*passina*) and he was the first Pâsi.

9. From all this mass of tradition it may be gathered that there is a close connection between the Pâsis, Arakhs, Mothis and Khatîks, which from their appearance and manners is not antecedently improbable. Mr. Carnegie tries to make out a closer connection between the Pâsis and other Râjput tribes of Oudh, such as the Bais, than is perhaps warranted by the facts.

10. As might have been anticipated from the discrepant legends of their origin and connection with other tribes, the internal organisation of the caste cannot be ascertained with absolute certainty. At the recent Census they were enumerated in six sub-castes—Arakh, Baurâsi, Kaithwâns, Mothi and Râjpâsi. In Mirzapur the Pâsis name five endogamous sub-castes—Kaithwâns who, as already stated, claim Kâyasth origin; Bhar, a tribe which though perhaps allied to the Pâsis it is more convenient to discuss separately; Pasmangta who are said to be begging Pâsis (*Pâsi mângua*, “to beg”) and to be so called because they receive alms from other Pâsis at marriages; Baurâsi said to be so called because one of the five original Pâsis created by Parasurâma or Parameswar once ran amuck (*baurdûa*). To the east of the Province Pâsis are often designated by the general term Pâsi-Baurâsi. Last come the Pahri who are said to take their name from their duty of keeping guard (*pakra*); they are often classed as a distinct tribe. Mr. Sherring¹ from Benares gives another list—Jaiswâra, who like the Banya and other clans of the same name take their title from the old town of Jais; Kainswât or Kaithwân, who correspond to the Kaithwâns or Kaithwâs of the other lists; Gûjar, who, of course, are a distinct tribe; Tirsuliya, who take their name from the *trisûla* or three-bladed knife with which they pierce the stem of the palm tree. Dr. Buchanan² makes a curious mistake in connecting the name of this sub-caste with the sacred *tulasi*, because they have planted the sacred *Ocymum*, called *tirsûli* in the vulgar tongue, and have thus become a sort of Hindus. Next in Mr. Sherring’s list follow the Pasiwân; Chiryamâr or “bird-killers” (*chirya-mârna*) who are more properly included among Bahelias, a possibly allied tribe; Byâdha (Sanskrit *vyâdha*, “a hunter”) who also come more properly under Bahelias; Bihâri or “residents of Bihâr” and Bhar which it is advisable to treat separately. In Bihâr³ there are four sub-castes—Byâdha, Gaiduha, a word which seems to mean “milkers of cows” (*gâē-duhna*);—Kamâni and Tirsuliya, of whom the Byâdha say that their original occupation was cultivating the water chestnut (*singhâra*); but they now tap date trees like the other sub-castes. A list from Partâb-

¹ *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I., 389.

² *Eastern India*, I., 175.

³ *Risley, Tribes and Castes*, II., 166.

garh, again, gives, Rājṣāi, Gūjar, Kaithwāns, Guāl, who are really Ahīrs, Mangṭa, Baurāsi, Arakh, Khatk and Pachhar. From all this it seems obvious that the term Pāsi is merely occupational and includes a number of distinct tribes, whose only connection is the common occupation of extracting the juice of the date palm. The complete Census returns show 305 Pāsi sub-divisions of the familiar type. Those of the greatest local importance are the Baheliya and Bhīl of Budāun, the Aheriya and Bhīl of Morādābād; the Parasarāmi of Allahābād and Fatehpur, the Boriya of Fatehpur; the Rewās of Bānda; the Baheliya and Bharē of Mirzapur; the Baheliya, Manwās and Tarmāli of Ghāzipur; the Chaurāsi of Basti, Sultānpur and Bārabanki; the Bhadauriya of the Tarāi; the Banya of Lucknow; the Boriya, Mahtiya and Parasarāmi of Unāo; the Boriya of Rāē Bareli; the Bachar, Dhānuk and Khatk of Sitapur; the Banya of Gonda; the Bachar, Chunarha, Dhānuk and Khatk of Bahrāich.

11. It does not appear that Pāsis actually introduce outsiders into the caste, but it is reported from Partābgarh that if a woman of the tribe become pregnant by a stranger to the tribe and her child be born in the house of her father or husband it will be accepted as a Pāsi of pure blood and admitted to all tribal privileges. The rule of exogamy prevailing in the endogamous sub-castes is not very rigidly fixed. Many Pāsis say that they bar all near relations generally. In Mirzapur they fix the prohibited degrees as the families of the maternal uncle, paternal uncle, maternal and paternal aunts for seven generations in the descending line. Marriage questions are decided by the tribal council (*pañchāyat*) which is presided over by a chairman (*chāudhāri*) selected at each meeting from among the most influential adult males present. The council deals specially with cases of immorality and pollution caused by journeys across "the black water" (*kālapāni*) which the criminal pursuits of the tribe occasionally necessitate. When a woman is detected in an intrigue with a clansman the relations on both sides have to give a tribal feast and the offenders are then admitted to caste. In the same way if a man offend with a strange woman he has to purchase his re-admission; but if a woman intrigue with a stranger she is permanently expelled. Concubinage, even with a woman of the tribe, is in Mirzapur punished by expulsion. Immorality in both sexes, provided it be inter-tribal, is lightly regarded. Marriage

takes place from the age of five or seven to sixteen; but infant marriage is the rule. No bride or bridegroom price is taken; but the friends of the girl are expected to give something to the relations of the bridegroom by way of dowry. If either party become blind or leprous after marriage a separation can be procured with the leave of the council. Widow marriage and the levirate both prevail. If the deceased husband leave a brother, who is of age to marry and is not already married, he is expected to take over the widow. The regular *sagdi* marriage is performed only in the case of virgin widows and they are as a rule married to widowers. In the case of widows whose marriage has been consummated there is practically no ceremonial of any kind and such a woman can with the permission of the tribal council live with a man as his acknowledged mistress (*rakhui*). This form of union is recognised after a tribal feast. In the ordinary *sagdi* the only ceremony is that the intended husband goes to the widow's house with a few friends taking with him some jewelry (generally five articles for luck) and a suit of clothes. The friends on both sides eat together and during the night in a dark room the man marks the parting of the woman's hair with red lead and next morning she is dressed in her new clothes and taken home. In the case of the levirate there is no fiction of ascribing the children of the subsequent union to the elder brother. If the widow marry an outsider she loses all rights in the property of her late husband. If she marry her husband's brother he has the usufruct of the property of his late brother and manages it until the sons of the first marriage come of age, when they succeed.

12. The Pâsis of Mirzapur profess to be able to state elaborate rules on the subject of adoption in imitation of those prevailing among the higher Hindu castes; but practically a man only adopts his brother's son with leave of the council and there is no recognised religious element in the transaction. The same is the case with succession. A man's heirs are his sons or in default of sons his associated brethren. Primogeniture is so far recognised that the eldest son gets a quarter share in excess as compared with his younger brothers. Widows have a life interest, but this depends on their continuing chaste and not marrying by *sagdi*. In default of a daughter or a daughter's son the inheritance devolves on him who performs the funeral ceremonies of the deceased.

Adoption and succession.

13. During pregnancy the Eastern Pāsis make vows and a
 Birth ceremonies. sacrifice to Birtiya, the village pantheon (*dīā*)
 and to Phūlmati Devi. If the mother has

an easy delivery these deities are honoured with an offering of spizits (*khappar*) and a hog (*māl*). They have no ceremony on the sixth day (*chhāthi*). The Chamārin midwife attends for six days and receives as her remuneration four sers of grain and four pice, if the baby be a boy, and half that amount if it be a girl. On the twelfth day is the *barahi* ceremony when the house is cleaned and the earthen pots replaced. Mother and child are bathed by the barber's wife, her hand and toe nails are cut and her feet stained with lac dye (*mahāwar*). Then the father of the child sacrifices a young hog to Birtiya and pours a libation of spirits on the ground. After this he invites a few of the tribesmen and feeds them on the pork and boiled rice. By this dinner the birth impurity is finally removed. When the mother goes first to draw water from the well after her confinement she places a handful of rice on the platform and bows down to it. The husband does not cohabit with his wife for six months after her delivery. The only ceremony of initiation is the ear-boring (*kanchhedan*, *kanbedha*) which is done by the village goldsmith when the child is five or six years old. His fee for doing this is one pice. The family feed on choice food that day and from that time the child has to conform to caste rules in the matter of eating and drinking.

14. The marriage is of the usual low caste type. The negotia-
 Marriage ceremonies. tions are commenced by the father of the
 bride who goes to the boy's house with the
 salutation *Rām! Rām!* as he enters. The boy is sent for and approved. The Pandit is called in and approves the horoscopes of the pair (*rāsbarg*). His future father-in-law gives the boy a rupee and this completes the betrothal (*mangni*). Then follows the *tilak* or marking of the boy's forehead by his father-in-law. This is known to the east of the Province as the "water drinking" (*pani pīna*) and the bride's Brāhman and barber take with them a betrothal gift consisting of a tray (*thālī*), a cocoanut (*ndariyal*), one or two pieces of cloth, some sweetmeats and one rupee or eight annas in cash. A feast of rice and pork follows and on that day the wedding day is fixed. Then comes the rite of *matmangara* or collection of the sacred earth (for which see *Bhuiya*, paragraph 14) and the erection of the nuptial shed (*mānro*), which is made of four bamboos

and contains in the centre a plough beam (*karis*) and some wooden images of parrots (*suga*). On that day the Pandit binds round the wrist of the boy a bracelet (*kankan*) consisting of iron surrounding a mango leaf and some mustard seed to keep off ill-luck. Next follows the anointing of the bride and bridegroom with oil and turmeric, and on the day before the procession starts the boy's father sacrifices a hog and pours a libation of spirits on the ground in honour of Agwān Deva, the herald deity who presides over enterprises, the Pānchon Pīr and the goddess Phūlmatī. The other ceremonies are of the usual type. The binding part of the marriage ceremony is the bridegroom rubbing some red lead on the ploughshare set up in the nuptial hut and smearing some on the parting of the bride's hair, after which they revolve five times round the ploughshare. Next follows the *koḥabar* ceremony when the married pair retire into an inner room. The significance of this rite is explained in paragraph 18 of the account of the Majhwārs. Five days after the return of the bride with her husband, the bridegroom's sister flings the marriage festoons (*bandarwār*) into running water with the sacred water pots, (*kalsa*), and on her way back she worships every banyan and *pīpal* tree she comes across with an offering of rice and water.

15. The dead are disposed of in the usual Hindu fashion. They

usually cremate their dead, but sometimes
 Death ceremonies. bury them when epidemic disease prevails.

When they bury, the head of the corpse is usually laid towards the north and the feet to the south, while the face is slightly turned to the east. Immediately after death a little sugar is put into the mouth of the corpse. After cremation the relatives chew a leaf of bitter *nīm* as a sign of mourning and then eat a little sugar as a protection against demoniacal influence. The cremation is generally followed by a drunken revel at the village grog-shop. Next morning the chief mourner arranges a habitation for the vagrant spirit (*pret*) by fixing some blades of *kusa* grass on the bank of a tank. On this he regularly pours water during the ten days of mourning, and food is left out every night for the use of the ghost along the road by which the body was removed for cremation or burial. The ashes are usually left on the site of the pyre, but some who are more careful collect them for ultimate disposal in the Ganges or some other sacred river.

16. To the east of the Province some of the more advanced Religion. Pâsis are often members of the Sâkta sect,

but few ever become regularly initiated. Many of them in Mirzapur worship Bandi Mâi, a form of Devi. She has no regular temple, but nearly every house has a platform (*chauri*) in her name and an image of brass or silver is placed upon it. This image is adorned with a necklace (*mâla*) and at every marriage in the family a fresh bead is added to the necklace, of gold for a boy and of silver for a girl. She is worshipped specially at marriages with the sacrifice of a castrated goat (*khassi*) cakes (*pûri laddu*), sweetmeats, rice, milk, flowers and betel leaves. There is no holiday in her honour but she is specially worshipped whenever a vow is made or any particular blessing craved. Others worship Agvân Deva, Phûlmatî or the Pânchon Pîr. To these deities pigs and liquor are offered. The household worship of the Pânchon Pîr is often represented by an iron spear (*sâng*) with three points or by five wooden pegs buried in the floor of the court yard. In Partâbgarh they have a large collection of local gods, such as Kâradeva, Miyân, Kambîra, Kshetrpâl or Bhûmiya and Bahirwâr. To the last two pigs and liquor are offered which are consumed by the worshippers. These offerings are made on a Wednesday or a Saturday. In Pilibhit Bhûmiya, or the godling of the soil, is known as Bhûmsen. But Pâsis, like all the lower Hindu castes, are very catholic in their worship and will visit the tomb of any saint (*pîr*) or martyr (*sayyid, shahîd*) which is convenient. They offer water every day to the souls of their deceased ancestors in the first fortnight of Kuâr. In the east of the Province some Pâsis again have quite another set of deities, such as Râm Thâkur, who perhaps represents Râma, Mahâbîr and Bhaironnâth. Râm Thâkur is honoured with the sacrifice of a castrated goat at weddings. Mahâbîr and Bhairon receive a bloodless offering, the former *laddu* sweetmeats and the latter cakes (*bara*) made of the flour of the *urad* pulse. When small-pox breaks out Sîtala Mâi is specially worshipped by women. When the time comes for tapping the date palms they collect a few friends and burn some incense over the sickle (*kansuli*) used for the purpose, and over the wooden strop on which it is sharpened. All classes of Brâhmins will officiate at their marriages and other ceremonies, and do anything for them which does not involve touching them or anything in their houses. Their festivals are those ordinarily observed by Hindus, the Phagua or Holi, Dasami, Diwâli, Kajari, Khichari and Tij.

17. Their demonolatry is that common to the lower class of Hindus. They believe that old trees are occupied by evil spirits (*bhûti*) or demons (*deo*, *bîr*) and to these collectively a pig is offered in the month of Aghan and a little spirits poured on the ground. They generally perform the *srdâkha* rite, and some of the wealthier of them go even as far as Gaya for that purpose. They will not cut down or injure the *pîpal* tree which they believe to be the abode of Vasudeva.

18. To the east of the Province the women wear bracelets of glass or lac (*chûri*) on their wrists, necklaces (*guriya*), nose-rings (*nathiya*), ear ornaments (*karanphûl*), heavy pewter anklets (*pai*).

Social status and
occupation.

The men wear an ear ornament (*surka*) and round the neck a gold coin or bead or an image of Sîtala, if the wearer have escaped a severe attack of small-pox. If he has lost his first wife and married another he will hang an image of the dead woman round his neck. This is also very commonly worn as a protective by the second wife and is known as "the co-wife" (*sautin*). Any present made to the new wife is always first offered to this image in order to avoid any jealousy on the part of the ghost. They swear on water or on the head of their eldest son. They believe strongly in witchcraft, possession by evil spirits, the demoniacal theory of disease and the Evil Eye. In such cases the Ojha or Syâna is consulted. They will not eat the flesh of the cow, buffalo, alligator, monkey, horse, jackal or lizard; most of them eat pork, fowls and field rats, sheep, goats and deer, but no meat is eaten in the fortnight in Kuâr sacred to the dead. Women eat apart from and after the male members of the family. They use tobacco and spirits and the latter often to excess. They salute castemen by the form *pârlagi* and their seniors by *Râm ! Râm !* Low castes like Chamârs and Bhangis will take water from their hands. As a rule they will eat *kacheki* cooked by their own castemen or by Brâhmans, and *pakki* cooked by a Brâhman, a Râjput, respectable Banyas such as Agarwalâs or Rastâogis or by a Halwâ.

19. A few are landowners, but most of them are day labourers, collectors of palm-juice, or makers of grindstones or curry stones. They bear on the whole an indifferent reputation and in the east of the Province many of them are noted thieves and burglars, who often make long journeys and commit serious crime.

General Sleeman says that in his time it was supposed that there were one hundred thousand families of Pâsis in Oudh, who were skilful thieves and robbers by profession and were formerly Thags and poisoners as well. They generally formed the worst part of the gangs kept up by refractory landowners "who keep Pâsis to fight for them, as they pay themselves out of the plunder and cost little to their employers. They are all armed with bows and arrows and are very formidable at night. They and their refractory employés keep the country in a perpetual state of disorder." Things, of course, have much improved since the British occupation of the Province but "even now in the Bângar the Pâsis pride themselves on taking some evidence of their prowess—a penknife, a handkerchief, from the tents of the English officers who visit their jungles for sport, and with whom they are generally on the best of terms".¹

¹ *Journey through Oudh*, 25.
Sitapur Settlement Report, 87.
Hardoi Settlement Report, 5.

Distribution of Pasis according to the Census of 1891—concluded.

Districts.	Arakh.	Bardsai.	Gujar.	Kaithwan.	Moth.	Rajpalsi.	Others.	TOTAL.
Azamgarh	...	...	...	22,421	...	...	65	22,484
Tardi	...	...	1	1	...	7	912	931
Lucknow	102	169	29,971	67	4,638	39,107	1,602	75,656
Unao	68	1,270	29,848	129	...	19,314	31,792	82,421
Rae Bareilly	...	50,049	10,434	26,243	...	17	14,325	101,248
Sitapur	3,020	14	13	...	1,043	95,653	5,157	104,900
Hardoi	...	8	22	...	74	85,908	627	86,039
Kheri	8,567	242	49	...	1,218	63,880	559	74,515
Faizabad	...	2,786	34,623	...	...	...	337	37,746
Gonda	...	14,061	22,011	...	315	168	1,110	37,665
Bahraich	117	8,623	21,470	29	...	4,221	15,635	50,085
Sultānpur	...	23,455	2,687	6,598	...	...	1,973	34,722
Partabgarh	...	...	127	61,993	...	...	239	62,459
Barabanki	4,314	75,615	5,931	...	...	26,653	10,315	122,828
TOTAL	16,210	207,558	175,857	321,914	8,267	353,535	135,961	1,219,311



PATHARI

Patâri.—A branch of the Majhwâr tribe, who have now become their family priests. Two explanations of the name have been given : one connects it with the Sanskrit *patravârnika* in the sense of "a scribe" or "recorder," in which case they may have been originally priests and genealogists of the Gond Majhwârs. Another theory connects the word with *pât* which in Gondi appears to mean "a sacred place". Thus in Mandla to propitiate evil spirits the Gonds set up rude shrines (*pât*) which are "sometimes merely a bamboo with a piece of rag tied to the end, a heap of stones, or perhaps only a few pieces of rag tied to the branches of a tree. However, the spirit is supposed to have taken up his abode there, and in consequence on the occasion of any event of importance happening in the Gond's family, the spirit has his share of the good things going, in the shape of a little spirit, and possibly a fowl sacrificed to him."¹ The same word apparently originates Pât who is a mountain deity of the Kurs, and Mainpât which is the holy plateau of Sarguja, looked upon with reverence by these Dravidian tribes.² The word Patâri or Pathâri with synonyms Pradhân and Gugya appears as a sept of the Gonds of Mandla.³ Of the Gond Pradhân Mr. Hislop writes : "The Pâdâl also named Pathâdi, Par-dhân and Desâi is a numerous class found in the same locality as the Râj Gonds, to whom its members act as religious counsellors (*Pradhâna*). They are in fact the Bhâts of the upper classes, repeating their genealogies and the exploits of their ancestors, explaining their religious system and assisting at festivals on which occasions they play on two sorts of stringed instruments (*kingri* and *jantar, yantra*). For their services they receive presents of cows and bullocks, cloth, food and money."⁴ This is pretty much the position of the Patâri among the Mirzapur Majhwârs.

2. The Mirzapur Patâris are divided into four exogamous groups (*jund*) which each contain a number of septs (*kuri*) mostly totemistic. These septs are practically analogous with those of the Majhwârs (*q.v.*). In the first exogamous group we have six septs—Markâm, Poiya, Kusro, Soi, Neti and Serlo : in the second twelve—Tekâm, Marpachi, Netâm, Pusâm, Kariyâm, Sindrâm, Kerâm, Oima,

¹ Central Provinces Gazetteer, 275.

² Dalton, Descriptive Ethnology, 231, 185, 223.

³ Central Provinces Gazetteer, 273.

⁴ Hislop, Papers, 6.

Dadâichi, Koâchi, Ulagwati, Kargati : in the third Marâi, Sarota, Soiyâm, Sarotiya, Bandaru, Karbê, Kursenga, Purkela, Masrâm, Armor, Ârpati and Karpati : in the fourth Korâm, Poika, Armon, Pâwalê, Chichâm, Balariya, Otê, Ulrich, Salâm. Most of these are analogous to the Majhwâr septs and, as there shown, many of them are totemistic. A closer analysis of the Central Provinces' septs of Gonds will probably show that this is generally the case.

3. The Patâris say that they were originally Majhwârs :

Tradition of origin. the whole tribe was descended from seven brothers. When they could find no one else

to act as family priest (*purôhit*) they compelled the youngest of the seven to undertake the duties. The curious part of the arrangement is however that a Majhwâr must be attended as his priest by a Patâri of the same sept as his own. Thus a Markâm Patâri acts as priest to a Majhwâr of the Markâm sub-division and so throughout the tribe. The result is that the parishioners or constituents of a Patâri are scattered over a large area and he has to undertake long journeys in order to pay his periodical visits. The system under which, by a specialisation of function this class of aboriginal local priests was formed, is very instructive in its analogies to what was probably the method by which the tribe of Brâhmans with its numerous local sub-divisions was organised.

4. Their tribal council is exactly on the
Tribal council. same system as among the Majhwârs.

5. The rules of marriage agree with those of the Majhwârs, but there appears to be no hypergamy. They

Marriage rules. marry rather earlier than Majhwârs—at the

age of ten for boys and nine for girls. The bride price fixed by invariable tribal custom is ten sers of sesamum (*tîli*), ten sers of the *urdi* pulse, twelve measures (*panseri*) of rice, four measures of coarse sugar, three rupees in cash and a cloth (*dhôti*) for the bride. Formerly part of the bride price used to consist of liquor but this gave rise to such an amount of quarrelling that about four years ago the tribal council decided that coarse sugar (*gur*) was to take the place of liquor. A wife, who makes a practice of adultery, who wastes the family property or thieves, may be discarded with leave of the council. If a man does not support or ill-treats his wife she can leave him, and such divorced women can marry again by the *sâgâi* form. Polygyny is allowed and the children of all the

wives rank equally as heirs. Concubines are not allowed : illegitimate children follow the caste of the fathers, but the clansmen will not eat with or intermarry with them.¹

6. When a man dies the council marry his widow to some widower in the tribe. The consent of the parties and the kindred of the first husband

Widow marriage. is essential. On a day fixed the man eats at the widow's house. Next day he takes her home and puts on her a set of bangles and ear ornaments (*chûri, tarki*) and pays to the husband's younger brother, who accompanies her, twelve rupees, a turban and a loin cloth which are regarded as the equivalent of the bride price. The levirate is allowed on the usual conditions. They practise Beena marriage in the usual *gharjaidn* form.

- Domestic ceremonies. 7. The domestic ceremonies are practically the same as those of the Majhwârs.

8. The position of the Patâri is decidedly low. He is looked upon with contempt as a beggar, and he is discredited because, like the Hindu Mahâ-brâhman, he takes the clothes, utensils, etc., of the dead man which are given to him in the belief that he will pass them on for the use of the deceased in the next world. And although they are the family priests of the Majhwârs, the latter show their contempt for them by refusing to eat with them or drink water from their hands.

Pâthak.—(Sanskrit *pâthaka*, "a reciter, teacher") a functional division of Brâhmans, who like the Upâdhyâya, are devoted to the instruction of youths in religious knowledge and the manner of performing rites and ceremonies. The term *pâthaka* is technically applied to the modes of recitation of the Vedic texts, of which there are five—Samhita, Pada, Krama, Jata and Ghana.

Pathân.—One of the chief Muhammadan tribes. There has been much controversy on the origin of the term. To quote Dr. Bellew, the latest and best authority on the ethnology of these races, "The origin of the name Pathân, and the nationalities originally represented by it, carries us back to very early times. The term Pathân is not a native word at all. It is the Hindustâni form of

¹ This was exactly the position of the same class (*opurti*) under Roman law. "These children irregularly conceived, have a mother, but no legal father: they do not come under the paternal power of the father, like the child of lawful marriage and cannot be legitimated." Letourneau, *Evolution of Marriage*, 202.

the native word Pukhtâna, which is the plural of Pukhtûn or Pakhtun (the *a* as in our *pack*) as it is pronounced by the Afrîdi. And Pukhtûn is the proper patronymic of the people inhabiting the country called Pukhtûnkhwa, and speaking the language called Pukhta or Pukhto. What the meaning of the word Pukhta, from which Pukhtûn and its derivatives are held to come, may be a matter of speculation. By some it is supposed to be the same word as the native Pukhta, "a ridge" or "hill" in distinction to Ghar, "a mountain chain" or "peak"; the two words corresponding respectively to the Persian Pushta and Koh. Be this as it may, and there is no denying the fact that the name PukhtûnKhwa, "the Pukhtûn coast or quarter", is very well in accordance with the character of the country in its physical aspect; there is also the fact that in the time of Herodotus, four centuries before our era, this very country was called Pactiya or Pactiyaca, and its natives Pactiyans. In Western Afghânistân the harsh *kh* is changed into the soft *sh*, and Pukhtûn becomes Pushtûn, Pukhtu becomes Pushtu, and so on. By some Pukhtûn tribes, the Afrîdi notably, Pukhtûn, Pukhtu, etc., are pronounced Pakhtûn, Pakhtu, etc., and this brings the words nearer to the Pakhtues of Herodotus. In short, the Pakhtûn or Pukhtûn of to-day, we may take it, is identical in race and position with the Pactiyan of the Greek historian."¹

2. The popular account is, it is almost needless to say, different. Modern genealogists trace the descent of Afghâns, Pathâns and Ghilzais from Kais or Kish, the father of Saul, and they say that the Prophet, pleased with the services of Kais named after his forefather, gave him the title of Pathân, the Syrian word for "rudder" and bade him direct his people in the true path. By one authority the name Afghân is said to mean "wailing";² but another explanation is more probable. Ashvaka, a name of Sanskrit origin was used as a territorial appellation of Gandhâra. This word, derived from *asva*, "a horse," signifies merely the "cavaliers." It was less an ethnic, in the rigorous acceptation of the word, than a general appellation applied by the Hindus of the Panjâb to the tribes of the region of the Kophes, renowned in antiquity for the excellence of its horses. In the popular dialects the Sanskrit word took the usual form Assaka, which reappears

¹ *The Races of Afghânistân*, 56, sq.

² Benjamin, *Perota*, 142.

scarcely modified in Assakâni or Assakeni in the first historians of the expedition of Alexander and subsequent writers. It is impossible here not to recognise the name Avghân or Afghân.¹ The theory which has been proposed by which Pathân is connected with the Hindi *pāṭha*, "the top of a hill" is as untenable as that which derives their title Khân from the Dravidian tribe of Khândhs.² The latter word has been by others derived from the Sanskrit *asu* or *swāmin*, meaning "lord."

3. To quote Dr. Bellew, again: "The traditions of the Afghâns refer them to Syria as the country of their Tribal traditions. residence at the time they were carried away into captivity by Bukhtanasar (Nebuchadnezzar) and planted as colonists in different parts of Persia and Media. From these positions they, at some subsequent period, emigrated eastward into the mountainous country of Ghor, where they were called by the neighbouring people Bani Afghân and Bani Isrâîl, or "children of Afghân" or "children of Israel." In corroboration of this we have the testimony of the Prophet Esdras to the effect that the ten tribes of Israel, who were taken into captivity, subsequently escaped and found refuge in the country of Arsareth, which is supposed to be identical with the Hazârah country of the present day, and of which Ghor forms a part. It is also stated in the *Tabaqât-i-Nâsiri*, a detailed account of the conquest of this country by Changhiz Khân, that in the time of the native Shansabi dynasty there was a people called Bani Isrâîl living in that country, and that some of them were extensively engaged in trade in the countries around." Mr. Thorburn³ quotes in support of their Jewish extraction, some peculiar customs obtaining among the tribes of purest blood, for instance the Passover-like practice of sacrificing an animal and smearing the doorway with its blood in order to avert calamity, the offering up of sacrifices, the stoning to death of blasphemers, the periodical distribution of land and so forth, and he points out that most of the learned men who reject the tradition of Jewish descent have no personal acquaintance with the Afghân people.

4. Though the tribal organisation of the Pathâns in these Provinces is much less closely defined than Tribal organisation. along the Panjâb frontier, Mr. Ibbetson's

¹ St. Martin quoted by McCrindle, *Indian Antiquary*, VI., 343, sq.

² Râja Lachhman Singh, *Bulandshahr Memorandum*, 192.

³ Quoted by Ibbetson, *Panjâb Ethnography*, paragraph 390, sqq.

remarks on this subject deserve quotation : " The tribe is probably far more homogeneous in its constitution among the Pathâns than among the Biloches. Sayyid, Turk and other clans have occasionally been affiliated to it, but as a rule people of foreign descent preserve their tribal individuality, become merely associated, and not intermingled, with the tribes, among whom they have settled. Even then they generally claim Pathân origin on the female side, and the tribe is usually descended in theory at least from a common ancestor. The *kamsâyah* custom by which strangers are protected by the tribe with which they dwell is in full force among the Pathâns as among the Biloches. But with the former, though it does protect in many cases families of one tribe who have settled with another, it seldom accounts for any considerable portion of the tribe ; and its action is chiefly confined to traders, menials and other dependants of foreign extraction who are protected by, but not received into, the tribe. Thus a blacksmith living in an Utmanzai village will give his clan as Utmanzai ; but his caste will, of course, remain Lohâr. The nation is divided genealogically into a few great sections which have no corporate existence, and the tribe is now the practical unit, though the common name and traditions of common descent are still carefully preserved in the memory of the people. Each section of tribe, however small, has its leading man who is known as Malik, a specially Pathân title. In many, but by no means in all, the tribes, there is a Khân Khel or chief house, usually the branch of the tribe, whose Malik is known as Khân, and acts as chief of the whole tribe. But he is seldom more than their leader in war and their agent in dealing with others ; he possesses influence rather than power ; and the real authority rests with the Jirgah, a democratic council composed of all the Maliks. The tribe, clan and sept are alike distinguished by patronymics formed from the name of the common ancestor by the addition of the word *sai* or *khel*, *sai* being the corruption of the Pashto *soe*, meaning " son," while *khel* is an Arabic word meaning " association " or " company." Both terms are used indifferently for both the large and smaller divisions. The stock of names being limited, the nomenclature is exceedingly puzzling, certain names recurring in very different tribes in the most maddening manner. Moreover, the title which genealogical accuracy would allot to a tribe or clan is often very different from that by which it is known for practical purposes, the people having preferred to be called by the name of a

junior ancestor who had acquired local renown. The frontier tribe, whether within or beyond our border, has almost without exception a very distinct corporate existence, each tribe, and within the tribe each clan, occupying a clearly defined tract of country, though they are in the Indus valley often the owners merely rather than the occupiers of the country, the land and smaller villages being largely in the hands of a mixed population of Hindu origin who cultivate subject to the superior rights of the Pathâns. These people are included by the Pathâns under the generic and semi-contemptuous name of Hindki; a term very analogous to the Jal of the Biloch frontier, and which includes all Muhammadans who, being of Hindu origin, have been converted to Islam in comparatively recent times."

5. At the last Census the Pathâns of these Provinces were classified under the following chief tribes:—
 Tribes of the Pathâns of North-Western Provinces. Afridi, Bagarzai, Bangash, Barech, Bunerwâl, Daûdzai, Dilazâk, Durrâni, Ghilzai, Ghorgashti, Ghorî, Kâkar, Qizilbâsh, Khalîl, Khatak, Lodi, Mehmâd, Muhammadzai, Rohilla, Tarîn, Urmuz, Ushturyâni, Warakzai, Wazîrî, Yâqûbzai and Yûsufzai. The following notes are mainly taken from the writings of Dr. Bellew and Mr. Ibbetson.

6. They represent in name and position the Aparytæ of Herodotus. One of the four great divisions of the Afridi Pathâns. the Pactiyæ of Herodotus was that of the Gandhâri, the other three were the Aparytæ or Afridi, the Satragyddæ or Khatak, and the Dadicæ or Dadi, all alike of Indian origin. "The original limits of the Afridi country probably comprised the whole of the Safed Koh range and the country on the base of it on the north and south sides, to the Kâbul and Kurrum rivers respectively; whilst its extent from east to west was from the Pewâr ridge or the head waters of the Kurrum further west to the Indus, between the points of junction with it of the Kâbul and Kurrum rivers, in the former direction." Of the character of the tribe Dr. Bellew writes: "Looking at the Afridi as we find him to-day, it is difficult to imagine him the descendant of the mild, industrious, peace-loving, and contemplative Buddhist, abhorrent of the shedding of blood or the destruction of life of even the minutest of God's creatures; or even to imagine him descended from fire-worshipping ancestors, whose tender care for life was

almost equal to that of the Buddhist, and whose sincere and punctilious devotion to the observances of the minute ceremonies and ordinances of their religion was surpassed by none. The Afridi of to-day, though professedly a Muhammadan, has really no religion at all. He is to a great extent ignorant of the tenets and doctrines of the religion he professes, and even if he knew them, would in no way be restrained by them in the pursuit of his purpose.

7 "Whatever he may have been as a Buddhist or as a fire-worshipper, he has now sunk to the lowest grade of civilisation, and borders upon the savage. Entirely illiterate, under no acknowledged control, each man has his own king, the nation has dwindled down to a small community of less than three hundred thousand souls, mostly robbers and cut-throats, without principles of conduct of any kind, and with nothing but the incentive of the moment as the prompter to immediate action. Even among his own nationality (the Pathân), he is accounted the faithless of the faithless, and is held on all sides to be the most fierce and stealthy of all enemies. As we know him merely in the character of an independent neighbour, he is a wily, mistrusting, wolfish, and wilful savage, with no object in life but the pursuit of robbery and murder and the feuds they give rise to."

8. The Bangash Pathâns are regarded by Dr. Bellew as perhaps of Scythic descent, and are supposed to have come into their present positions with the Scythic irruption. They originally lived about Gurdez in Zurmat, but in the latter part of the fourteenth century they increased in numbers, and being pressed upon by the Ghilzai, emigrated eastward *en masse* and settled in Kurram. They are descended from Luqmân, and have absorbed several tribes of doubtful origin. Their chief settlement in these Provinces is at Farrukhâbâd, and a very complete account of them has been given by Mr. R. S. Whiteway.¹

The Bunerwâl Pathâns.

9. The Bunerwâl tribe take their name from the Buner country, north-east of Peshâwar.

The Daûdzai Pathâns.

10. The Daûdzai occupy the left bank of the Kâbul river as far down as the junction of the Bara.

¹ *Calcutta Review*, 1865.

11. 'The Dilazāk Pathāns were the inhabitants of the Peshāwar valley before the Pathān invasion, and are apparently of Scythic origin, and came into the Panjāb with the Jāts and Kattī in the fifth and sixth centuries. "They soon became powerful and important, and ruled the whole valley as far as the Indus and the foot of the northern hills. In the first half of the thirteenth century the Yūsufzai and Momand drove them across the Indus into Chach-Pakhli. But their efforts to regain their lost territories were such a perpetual source of disturbance that at length Jahāngīr deported them *en masse* and distributed them over Hindustān and the Dakkhin. Scattered families of them are still to be found along the left bank of the Indus in Hazāra and Rāwalpindi." ¹

12. The name Durrāni is derived either from *durr-i-daurān*, "pearl of the age," or from *durr-i-durrān*, "pearl of pearls." The title was adopted by Ahmad Shāh Abdāli, when he ascended the throne, in allusion to the Abdāli custom of wearing a pearl stud in the right ear. According to Dr. Bellew ² :—"The special Afghān tribe is called Abdāli, and is more commonly known since the time of Ahmad Shah, the first independent sovereign of Afghānistān of this race, by the name Durrāni. The Durrāni comprise the following chief divisions or clans : Saddozai, Populzai, Barakzai, Halakozai, Achakzai, Nurzai, Ishāqzai, and Khagwāni. Their home and fixed seat is in Kandahār Province, the former country of the Gandhāra, who, at an early period of our era, spread into the present Hazāra country along the courses of the Helmand and Arghandāb rivers. Members of each clan, however, are found in small societies scattered all over the plain country up to Kābul and Jalālābād, and they are there settled mostly as lords of the soil or military fеоffees, the people of the country, so far as concerns the agricultural community, being their tenants or serfs."

13. According to Mr. Ibbetson, "the Ghilzai are a race probably of Turkish origin, their name being another form of Khilchi, the Turkish word for 'swordsmen,' who early settled, perhaps, as mercenaries rather than as a corporate tribe, in the Siabband range of the Ghor mountains,

¹ Ibbetson, *loc. cit.*, para. 415.

² *Loc. cit.*, 20.

where they received a large admixture of Persian blood. The official spelling of the name is still Ghaleji at Kâbul and Kandahâr. They first rose into notice in the time of Mahmûd Ghaznavi, whom they accompanied in his invasions of India. Not long afterwards they conquered the tract between Jalâlâbâd and Kelât-i-Ghilzai, and spread east and west over the country they now hold. In the beginning of the eighteenth century they revolted against their Persian rulers, established themselves under Mîr Wais as independent rulers at Kandahâr, and overran Persia. But a quarter of a century later they were reduced by Nâdir Shâh, and their rule disappeared, to be succeeded not long after by that of the Durrâni." Dr. Bellew tells the romantic legend of Bîbi Matto and Shâh Husain, whose son was called Ghalzô, "son of a thief," the father having stolen his daughter's honour, whence the name Ghilzai.

14. He adds: "As a race the Ghilji mix little with their neighbours, and indeed differ in many respects, both as to internal government and domestic customs, from the other races of Afghânistân. Those small sections of the people who are settled in the plain live in villages and follow agricultural pursuits, but the great majority of the tribe are pastoral in their habits of life, and migrate with the seasons from the lowlands to the highlands with their families and flocks and easily portable black hair tents. They never settle in the cities, nor do they engage in the ordinary handicraft trades, but they manufacture carpets, felts, etc., for domestic use, from the wool and hair of their cattle. The pastoral clans are notoriously predatory in their habits, and continually at feud amongst themselves and with their neighbours. Physically they are a remarkably fine race, and in stature, courage, and strength of body, are second to none in Afghânistân. But they are very barbarous people, the pastoral clans especially, and in their wars excessively savage and vindictive. Several of the Ghilji or Ghilzai clans are almost wholly engaged in the carrying trade between India and Afghânistân and the northern states of Central Asia, and have been so for many centuries, to the exclusion almost of all the other tribes of the country. The principal clans employed in this great carrying trade are the Niâzi, Nâsar, Kharoti, and to some extent the Sulaimân Khel. From the nature of their occupation they are collectively styled, or individually so far as that goes, Povinda and Lawâni or Lohâni. These terms, it appears, are derived from the Persian word *parvinda*, 'a bale of merchandise,' and *rawâni*, 'a traveller.'"

15. The term Ghorqusht is a corruption of Ghirgisht or Ghurgusht, the third son of Kais. The word is only an altered form of Girgis or Ghirghis, "wanderer on the steppe," and indicates the country whence this people originally came, namely, Northern Turkistân.

16. The Ghor Pathâns, who are very numerous in the Provinces, appear to take their name from the Ghor country to the east of Herât. They are usually classed as a sub-division of the Kand, one of the septes of the Bani Isrâil, or pure Afghâns.

17. Of the Kâkar Pathâns Dr. Bellow writes¹:—"The Kâkar of Afghânistân are a people of Scythian origin, and of kindred race with the Gokkar or Ghokhar, who are settled in Chach and Râwalpindi on the other side of the Indus, and other parts of India. According to the Afghân account, Kâkar was the grandson of Ghurghusht or Ghirghisht, by his second son, Dani. And this Ghirgh was the youngest of the three sons of Kais or Kish, the great ancestral progenitor of the Afghân nationality of modern times. It has already been shown how the name of the first son, Saraban, was merely the adoption of the race name of the people whom the Afghân genealogists classified together as one set of the descendants of Kais, and the fact of their Râjput origin might then have been made clearer by tracing up the descent to more recent times. Saraban had two sons, Sharjyûn and Krishyûn, which are evidently transformations of the common Râjput names, Surjan and Krishna, and they have been still more altered by transformation into Muhammadan names, Sharjyûn being changed into Sharffuddîn and Krishyûn into Khyruddîn. Similar traces of Indian affinity are to be found in almost all the Afghân genealogical tables, and it is only what we might expect when we remember the tradition that the five Pândava brothers about the time of the Mahâbhârat emigrated to the Panjâb and Afghânistân as far as Ghazni and Kandahâr, and there established independent kingdoms which lasted for several centuries."

18. Mr. Ibbetson calls the Qizilbâsh Pathâns "a tribe of Tartar horsemen from the Eastern Caucasus, who formed the backbone of the old Persian army and of the force with which Nâdir Shâh

The Qizilbâsh or Qazal-
bâsh Pathâns.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 91.

invaded India. Many of the great Mughal ministers have been Qizilbâsh, and notably Mîr Jumlah, the famous minister of Aurangzeb. They are said to take their name from a red cap of peculiar shape which they wear, and which was invented by the founder of the Sophi dynasty of Persia, an intolerant Shiah, as the distinguishing mark of that sect, and which his son, Shâh Tumas, compelled Humayun to wear when a refugee at the Persian Court. There are some twelve hundred families of Qizilbâsh in the city of Kâbul alone, where they were located by Nâdir Shâh and exercise considerable influence in local politics."

19. The Khalîl occupy the left bank of the Bara river and the country along the front of the Khibar Pass.
 The Khalîl Pathâns. They have four main clans: Matuzai, Barozai, Ishâqzai and Tilarzai, of whom the Barozai is most powerful.

20. To quote Mr. Ibbetson again: "The Khataks are descended from Luqmân, surnamed Khatak. He
 The Khatak Pathâns. had two sons, Turqmân and Bulâq. The descendants of the latter are still known as the Bulâqi section; while Tarai, son of Turqmân, rose to such distinction that the whole section, including two main clans, the Tari proper and the Tarkai, is called by his name. The Khatak are a fine, manly race, and differ from all other Pathâns in features, general appearance, and many of their customs. They are the northernmost of all the Pathâns settled on our frontier who speak the soft or Western dialect of Pushto. They are of a warlike nature, and have been for centuries at feud with all their neighbours and with one another. They are active, industrious, and a favourable specimen of Pathân, and are good cultivators, though their country is stony and unfertile. They are great carriers and traders, and especially hold all the salt trade with Swât and Buner in their hands. They are all Sunnis. The Marwat, the hereditary enemy of the Khatak, says: 'Friendship is good with any one but a Khatak; may the Devil take a Khatak,' and 'a Khatak is a hen, if you seize him slowly, he lies down; and if suddenly, he clucks.' Another proverb runs thus:—'Though the Khatak is a horseman, still he is a man of but one charge.'"

21. "To the Ghilzai and Lodi, the latter of whom gave a dynasty
 The Lodi Pathâns. to Upper India," according to Mr. Ibbetson, "and especially to the former, belong almost all the tribes of warrior traders who are included under the term

Pawinda, from *parwinda* the Persian word for 'a bale of goods,' or perhaps more probably from the same root as *powal*, a Pushto word for 'to graze.' They are almost wholly engaged in the carrying trade between India and Afghânistân and the Northern States of Central Asia, a trade which is almost entirely in their hands. They assemble every autumn in the plains east of Ghazni, with their families, flocks, herds, and long strings of camels laden with the goods of Bukhâra and Kandahâr, and forming enormous caravans, numbering many thousands, march in military order through the Kâkar and Wazîri country to the Gomal and Zhob passes, through the Sulaimâns. Entering the Dera Ismâil Khân District, they leave their families, flocks, and some two-thirds of their fighting men in the great grazing grounds which lie on either side of the Indus, and while some wander off in search of employment, others pass on with their laden camels and merchandise to Multân, Rajputâna, Lahore, Amritsar, Delhi, Cawnpur, Benares, and even Patna. In the spring they again assemble, and return by the same route to their homes in the Hills about Ghazni and Kelât-i-Ghilzai. When the hot weather begins, the men, leaving their belongings behind them, move off to Kandahâr, Herât, and Bukhâra, with the Indian and European merchandise which they have brought from Hindustân. In October they return and prepare once more to start for India."

22. The Muhammadzai of the Census returns are perhaps the same as the Muhammad Khel, the largest sept of the Daulatzai. The present rulers of

The Muhammadzai.
Bhopâl belong to this tribe.

23. The country known as Pukhtûn Khwa, to which reference has already been made, is called by outsiders and foreigners, on the side of India almost exclusively, by the name of Roh, which has the same meaning as Koh, "a mountain;" Rohilla hence means "a Highlander." Their occupation of the country called after them Rohilkhand is quite modern. After the death of Aurangzeb in A.D. 1707 the dissensions among the Hindus of Bareilly gave a chance to Ali Muhammad Khân, the leader of the Rohilla Pathâns, to obtain possession of the country. In A.D. 1744 he conquered Kumaun as far as Almorâ, but two years after he was defeated by the Emperor Muhammad Shâh in the Bareilly District. He was succeeded by the famous Hâfiz Rahmat Khân, and in his latter days he came in contact

with Warren Hastings, when the name of the Rohillas for the first time attracted attention.¹ They assert that they are of Coptic origin, and say that, driven out of Egypt by one of the Pharaohs, they wandered westward till they arrived under that part of the mountains known as Sulaimâni Koh, or "the hill of Solomon," where they halted. The Rohilla has been always notorious for bravery and turbulence. Shore² says that in his time the Rohilla soldiers would submit to be flogged within an inch of their lives with a leathern martingale, but to be struck with a whip or cane would be an indelible disgrace and very likely to be resented by a stab or a bullet.

24. Dr. Bellew³ writes of these: "The tribal traditions are to the effect that about three or four hundred

The Tarin Pathâns.

years ago the Yûsufzai or Mândar and Mohmand tribes of Afghâns were settled on the Gwara Margha and the headwaters of the Tarnak and Arghasan rivers, as neighbours and allies. Beyond them, lower down the course of these rivers, were the Tarîn, another tribe of Afghâns, who still occupy the same positions, and the valley of Peshîn. Their lands were in the summer subject to droughts, and were besides in great part waste, owing to the exhaustion at that season of the tributary streams and the diminished volume of the rivers. The consequence was a contest for the better lands, and the Tarîn tribes, being the stronger of the two parties, gradually encroached on the fat pastures of the Mândar and Mohmand tribes and finally dispossessed them of their lands."

25. Of the Ushturyâni, whom Mr. Ibbetson⁴ calls Ushturâni, he says:—"They are the descendants of Han-

The Ushturyâni Pathâns.

nar, one of the sons of Ushtaryâni, a Sayyid, who settled among and married into the Shirâni section of Afghâns. They were settled with the Shirânis to the south of the Takht-i-Sulaimân, and till about a century ago were wholly pastoral and engaged in the carrying trade. But a quarrel with their neighbours, the Mûsa Khel, put a stop to their annual westward migration, and they were forced to take to agriculture. They still own a large tract of country, in

¹ For their history, see *Moradâbâd Settlement Report*, 12, sq.

² *Notes*, II., 490.

³ *Loc. cit.*, 68, sq.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, para. 400, sq.

which indeed most of them live, cultivating land immediately under the hills and pasturing their flocks beyond the border. Their territory only includes the eastern slopes of the Sulaimâns, the crest of the range being held by the Mûsa Khel and Zmari. They are divided into two main clans, the Ahmadzai and Gagalzai, and these again into numerous septs. They are a fine, manly race, many of them in our army and police, and they are quiet and well behaved, cultivating largely with their own hands. A few of them are still carriers. They are much harassed by the independent Bozdâr (Biloch). They are all Sunnis."

26. Of the Wazîri Pathâns, Dr. Bellew says¹:—"The Wazîri, who displaced the Khatak or Shattak, as it

The Wazîri Pathâns.

is pronounced in the Western dialect of Pushtu, from his ancient seat on the Sulaimân range from the Sattagydia of Herodotus, for he is the only one of the ancient authors who has mentioned this people, appear to be identical with the Wairsi or Vairsi of the early Muhammadan historians. The Wairsi were a division of the Sodha tribe, which itself was a branch of the Pramâra Râjput. The Wazîri appear to have made their first assault against the Khatak about five or six hundred years ago, at a time when the country was sorely afflicted with famine; and the route they took was across the Shâm plain into the adjoining valley and district of Barmal. Here they settled and remained for some time before making a further forward move. Hence they occupied the whole of the ancient Khatak country from the Shâm plain on the South to the Kohât Valley on the North. They are a powerful and entirely independent tribe, and mostly pastoral and nomad in their habits of life. In personal appearance they are very different from other Pathân tribes and retain many customs peculiar to themselves."

27. The history of the Yûsufzai Pathâns is given in detail by Dr. Bellew and Mr. Ibbetson. They now

The Yûsufzai Pathâns.

hold Swât, Buner, and the Lundkhwâr and Rânizai Valleys in the North-West of Yûsufzai.

28. Mr. Ibbetson's remarks again deserve reproduction:—"The true Pathân is perhaps the most barbaric of all the races with which we are brought in contact in the Panjâb. His life is not so

Character of the
Pathâns.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 89.

primitive as that of the gypsy tribes, but he is cruel, bloodthirsty and vindictive in the highest degree; he does not know what truth and faith is, in so much that the saying *Afghân beîmân* has passed into a proverb among his neighbours, and though he is not without courage of a sort, and is often curiously reckless of his life, he would scorn to face an enemy whom he could stab from behind or to meet him on equal terms if it were possible to take advantage of him, however meanly. It is easy to convict him out of his own mouth. Here are some of his proverbs:—‘A Pathân’s enmity smoulders like a dung fire:’ ‘A cousin’s tooth breaks upon a cousin:’ ‘Keep a cousin poor but use him; when he is little, play with him; when he is grown up, he is a cousin, fight him:’ ‘Speak good words to an enemy very softly; gradually destroy him root and branch.’ At the same time he has his code of honour which he observes strictly, and which he quotes with pride under the name of *Pakhtûnwâli*. It imposes upon him three chief obligations: *Nanawatai*, or the right of asylum, which compels him to shelter and protect even an enemy who comes as a suppliant; *Badal*, or the necessity to revenge by retaliation; and *Melmastia*, or open-handed hospitality to all who may demand it. Of these three, perhaps, the last is greatest. And there is a sort of charm about him, especially about the leading men, which almost makes one forget his treacherous nature. As the proverb says: ‘The Pathân is at one moment a saint and the next a devil.’ For centuries at least he has been on our frontier subject to no man. He leads a wild, free, active life in the rugged fastnesses of his mountains; and there is an air of masculine independence about him which is refreshing in a country like India. He is a bigot of the most fanatical type, exceedingly proud, and extraordinarily superstitious. He is of stalwart make, and his features are often of a markedly Semitic type. His hair, plentifully oiled, hangs straight to his shoulder; he wears a loose tunic, baggy drawers, a sheet or blanket, sandals, and a sheepskin coat with its wool inside; his favourite colour is dark blue; and his national arms the long heavy Afghân knife and the matchlock or *jasai*. His women wear a loose shift, wide, wrinkled drawers down to their ankles, and a wrap over the head, and are, as a rule, jealously secluded. Both sexes are filthy in their persons.

29. “Such is the Pathân in his home among the fastnesses of the frontier ranges. But the Pathâns of our territory have been much softened by our rule and by the agricultural life of the plains,

so that they look down on the Pathâns of the hills, and their proverbs have it:—‘A. hillman is no man;’ and again, ‘Don’t class burrs as grass or a hillman as a human being.’ The nearer he is to the frontier, the more closely the Pathân assimilates to the original type; while on this side of the Indus, even in the riverain itself, there is little or nothing, not even language, to distinguish him from his neighbours of the same religion as himself. The Pathâns are extraordinarily jealous of female honour, and most of the blood feuds for which they are so famous originate in quarrels about women. As a race they strictly seclude their females, but the poorer tribes and the poorer members of all tribes are prevented from doing so by their poverty. Among the tribes of our territory a woman’s nose is cut off if she be detected in adultery; and it is a favourite joke to induce a Pathân woman to unveil by saying to her suddenly ‘You have no nose.’ The Pathân pretends to be purely endogamous, and beyond the border he probably is so; while even in British territory the first wife will generally be a Pathân, except among the poorest classes. At the same time Pathân women are beyond the Indus seldom, if ever, married to any but Pathâns. They intermarry very closely, avoiding only the prohibited degrees of Islâm. Their rules of inheritance are tribal and not Muhammadan, and tend to keep property within the agnatic society, though some few of the more educated families have lately begun to follow the Musalmân law. Their social customs differ much from tribe to tribe, or rather perhaps from the wilder to the more civilised sections of the nation.”

30. In these Provinces, perhaps, the best class of Pathâns are those from Rohilkhand, who are active, intelligent, and good rulers of men; many of them hold appointments in the Revenue, Police, and other Government Departments.

Distribution of the Pathans

Districts	Afridi.	Bakharai	Bangash	Barech	Bunerwal	Daudzai	Dilazak	Durrani.	Ghizai.	Ghoraghat	Ghori.	Kākur.	Qasabab
Dehra Dān . . .	63		44						42		115	218	
Sahāranpur . . .	131	11	82	31	7	1	85	3	83	19	334	3,787	
Musafernagar . . .	593	5	6	1	18	4	4	18	12		283	2,680	
Meerut . . .	95	189	202		1	2	988	8	8		3,006	967	11
Hulandebahr . . .	83		12	3		43	8	183	404		1,867	81	
Allgarh . . .	96		189				1	8	123		5,529	8	
Mathura . . .	32		44		1		4		21		1,574	19	
Agra . . .	409	1	105		5	37	75	9	58		3,961	43	9
Farrukhabād . . .	3,668	15	4,043			25	405	11	309		3,292	1,240	
Mainpuri . . .	401	27	173				12		72		2,369	78	
Flāwah . . .	88		207						17		1,781	33	
Etah . . .	253		701			10	101	2	86			279	
Bareilly . . .	1,104	517		1,432	31		17	65	630	138	9,850	71	
Bijnor . . .	24						65		57		199	502	
Budāun . . .	153	19	593	741	200	9	607	7	65	40	6,292	5	
Morādābad . . .	186	2	178	578	944	86	755	11	125		2,740	282	
Shājahānpur . . .	600	1,070	1,117	23	1	521	2,668	62	128		3,807	498	
Pilibhūt . . .	160	281	82						212		1,250		
Cawnpur . . .	196		611	8		4	74	29	35		1,879		
Fatehpur . . .	141		24				11	35	47		2,314	16	
Bānda . . .	7	5	28				10	2	88		6,162	149	
Hamirpur . . .	11	5	50		1		1		36		1,805	64	
Allahābad . . .	80	9	4				506	105	4		724	14	
Jhānsi . . .	13		52				4	11	41		1,166	44	
Jālaun . . .	21		134				4	11	69		1,823		
Lalitpur . . .	18	1					3	2			346	7	
Benares . . .	66		32					59	26		207	79	
Mirzapur . . .							20		411				
Jaunpur . . .	14						423	41	34		1,439		
Ghāampur . . .	4						41		15		39	70	
Ballia . . .											44		
Gorakhpur . . .	27		11				233	21	75		715	1,605	
Basti . . .		28				19			74		912	18,539	
Azamgarh . . .	6						79				2,479	372	
Kumaun . . .													
Garhwal . . .													
Tarai . . .	29		87		615			1		1	671		
I ucknow . . .	1,421	18	180	9			102	55	91		1,788	215	16
Unāo . . .	356	48	62				129	129	90		5,672	263	
Rāo Baroli . . .	431		87					25	202		798	540	
Sitapur . . .	233	23	119			5	22	80	20		2,515	1,235	
Hardoi . . .	600	1,163	131				43	69	5		5,780	1,534	...
Kheri . . .	140	340	56			621	86	7	68		3,369	667	
Faizābād . . .								4	40		523	1,210	53
Gonda . . .	6		5			6			2		410	10,087	
Bahrāich . . .	317		91	2	20	16		40	52		2,315	2,909	
Sultānpur . . .	78		8				423	2	59		414	295	
Partābgarh . . .	107	4	6				33	8	8		1,266	82	
Bārabanki . . .	302		58								85	327	
TOTAL . . .	12,840	3,780	9,743	2,639	1,749	1,378	8,321	1,116	4,035	198	89,712	49,049	89

according to the Census of 1891

Khalil	Khatak.	Lodi.	Mehmad	Muham- madsal	Rohilla	Tafin.	Urmuz	Ushburyan	Warakmal.	Waziri.	Yaqubmal.	Yusufmal	Others	Total
	12	248		95	140				20			672	1,846	8,015
259	45	1,172	3	220	1,009	134	.		67	101		5,008	1,870	18,082
7	18	1,719	4	121	627	104			448	1		2,680	2,162	11,433
	238	770		78	608	24			5			6,512	4,294	18,009
107	46	641	36	42	15	53			5			2,262	4,174	10,110
	79	3,036		33	123				118	109		2,064	4,242	16,388
.	56	787	23	2	42				4			822	1,700	5,171
3	66	3,469		30	371	72			46	2		2,899	6,425	18,270
98	3,109	1,281	50	718	108	46			1,457			3,956	11,274	33,068
	2	890		48	24	5			78	7		718	4,059	9,800
	4	1,118		41	109	9			58	8		872	4,091	8,438
53	181	2,110	9	994	47	48			386	38		1,201	3,922	10,894
25	335	1,144		980	546	389			144		43	5,185	21,338	41,138
58	75	707		1,068	527	565			9			2,641	2,539	9,054
...	692	1,131	21	716	264	102	183		45		9	2,100	10,608	24,668
23	710	1,435	358	645	490	529	..		76	20	78	4,537	6,325	21,032
780	182	540	3,460	812	1,601	2,098			1,069			4,231	14,094	39,394
20	355	840	68	750	444	73	53		919		18	2,113	6,408	13,499
26	5	2,455	2	6	171	52			23	51		4,101	7,007	14,794
16	31	1,578	26	208	95	...			-7	1		1,696	2,796	9,063
1		618		18	65				17	6		690	3,125	10,950
		266		17	16	11			5	1		871	3,248	5,326
	16	6,381		10	153	51		9				4,689	6,844	10,664
		291	5	20	76							611	2,610	4,653
		548	23		23				75			537	2,683	9,430
		74		8	7							91	1,334	1,591
	11	1,741		66	117	2						2,346	3,676	8,728
	...	3,539		5	45	104			6			2,437	2,220	8,777
		4,159				37						2,121	5,138	13,516
7	199	2,045		2	58	18	78			1		2,499	3,451	8,510
	...	1,313			206				49			774	3,447	4,833
1		6,037		11	642	1				12		3,985	7,733	21,118
		6,297			264							1,731	4,008	29,807
3	.	2,058		66	14	3						4,482	10,543	20,104
		101										...	7	7
	.	73		337	18	18			117		..	810	1,668	4,335
38	41	2,678	123	188	197	199			191	59		7,173	10,375	25,066
24	25	2,175	34	61	75	76			612	.		959	3,387	13,977
37	18	3,609		33	42	31	21		250			641	2,280	9,002
48	8	3,308		216	109	8			53			2,825	5,018	15,543
129	30	1,538	307	487	386	370	1		12			1,173	5,677	12,415
5		2,812	38	246	237	185	..			29		2,116	3,549	14,602
		2,800	..		57							4,025	5,099	13,285
		6,080	.	6	101		.				.	3,121	5,618	27,612
11	6	4,427	7	447	139	24			29		6	3,321	6,251	21,353
...	73	2,621		9	32	.					..	1,192	1,904	6,705
	164	6,028	2		65	42						1,170	10,378	19,220
16	17	3,778	.	7	28	10			6			2,164	5,321	22,120
1,854	5,519	106,992	4,519	9,900	10,532	5,488	336	9	5,610	446	153	114,668	249,210	700,268

Patwa, Patua¹—(Sanskrit *pata*, "woven cloth;" Hindi *pat*, "silk").—The caste of braid and silk fringe makers. They are also generally known by the name of 'Ilâqêband or 'Alâqêband ('*ilâqa*, '*alâqa*, "connection"), who are usually Muhammadans practising the same occupation: Pathâr, Patahra, Pathera.

2. One tradition states that when Mahâdeva was about to be married to Pârvati, a goldsmith brought the

Tribal traditions.

wedding jewelry for the bride, and as there was no one to string them, Mahâdeva formed the "silkman" to do the duty. The Eastern Patwas trace their origin to Baretha in the Faizâbâd District and to Balrâmpur in Gonda. In Ahraura, in the Mirzapur District, there is a small community of them who make silk cloth from the cocoons collected in the jungles south of the river Son. They take the title of Sinh, and say that they are emigrants from Kot Kângra, where they were originally Katauj Râjputs, a sept which does not appear in Mr. Ibbetson's lists. In the Panjâb they say they are Khattris. In Hamîrpur they claim descent from Gokul in the Mathura District, and say that their ancestor was one Biha, a Pânre Brâhman; they separated from the Brâhman stock on account of some quarrel about eating, and their brethren are now called Patiya Brâhman and act as their family priests. They also assert that the Gahoi Banyas are a branch of the same stock. In Farrukhâbâd they claim their origin from Ujjain. They are apparently a purely occupational caste, and are probably composed of many different elements.

3. At the last Census they were recorded under the sub-tribes of

Tribal organization.

Agarwâla; Deobansi, or "the race of a god;" and Kharwâr, which is the name of an undoubtedly Dravidian tribe. In Benares, according to Mr. Sherring, their divisions are Khârêwâl or Khandêwâl, which is the name of one of the Banya tribes; Khara, or "genuine," Deobansi; Lahera, or makers of ornaments in lac (Sanskrit *laksha-kâra*); and Jogi Patwa. In Mirzapur there is a sub-caste known as Khanrawa, who are said to take their name for some unexplained reason from *kâhar*, or coarse sugar, and to be out-castes. In Lucknow their sub-castes are Gauriya, Rewar, and Tânti. In Hamîrpur they have a

¹ Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by M. Râm Sahây, Teacher, Tahsil School, Mahoba, Hamîrpur; M. Jamunadîn, Teacher, Sumerpur School, Hamîrpur; M. Chhote Lal, Archaeological Survey, Lucknow; and the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Ballia and Farrukhâbâd.

number of local sections which take their name from the villages in which they originally settled. These are Chhâniyân, who are named from the village of Chhâni; Ratha from Râth; Tarela; Barauniya; Sikarwâr; Kariya; Nasâniyân; and Jeorahiya. Here it is said that the sub-castes are exogamous, which is certainly a mistake. But these local divisions or sections practise hypergamy among themselves. Thus the Chhâniyân, Nasâniyân, and Barauniya give their daughters in marriage to the Tarela, Ratha, and Jeorahiya, but will not marry their sons in these groups.

4. The sub-castes are endogamous and follow the usual formula of exogamy, which prohibits intermarriage in the family of the paternal and maternal uncles and aunts for two or three generations, or as long as any relationship is remembered.

Domestic ceremonies. 5. The domestic ceremonies are of the normal type practised by respectable natives of the same social standing.

Religion. 6. Patwas are generally Vaishnavas of the Kabîrpanthi or Satyanâmi sect. To the east of the Province their clan deities are Mahâbîr, the Pâñchon-pîr, and Hardiha or Hardaul Lâla, who is the household godling. On the tenth of the light half of Kuâr they offer flowers and sweetmeats to Mahâbîr, Mahâdeva, Narsinha, and Nârâyana. At the Nâgpanchami festival, in the month of Sâwan, they let a ram loose in the name of Devi, and throw over it a mixture of sugar and pepper dissolved in water. Some are Nânakpanthis, and these at the Khichari festival, at the end of the month of Mâgh, worship the scriptures (*granth*) with an offering of the Halwa sweetmeat. This is known as *karâkprasâd*, or "the offering from the boiler." In Ballia some worship Durga and Bhairon and some a local saint known as Ganinâth. These deities are worshipped on the tenth day of the waxing moon in the month of Kuâr. Unmarried girls are excluded from this worship, and only women married by the regular ceremony, and not women married by the *sagâi* or *kâj* form, are allowed to attend. In Hamîrpur they specially worship Hardaul Lâla, prayer to whom averts danger at marriage and pregnancy, and brings good rain and keeps off storms. In addition to these they worship a crowd of godlings, such as Sati, Dhyân Dâs, Gharîb Dâs, Goswâmi, to whom worship is done by making a fire-sacrifice (*hom*) and burning some incense (*dâk*). To the east of the

Province they have no shaving ceremony (*māuran*) for children and never cut their hair. At death they only cut their nails as a sign of mourning, rub their bodies with mustard oil (*karua tel*), and their heads with oil-cake. Their priests are Tiwāri Brāhmins of the Sarwariya tribe.

7. Some of the Patwas weave silk from the indigenous cocoons.

The 'Ilâqéband, who, as already stated, is usually a Muhammadan, makes coloured cords of

Occupation. silk or cotton thread used for the threading of beads and the binding together of ornaments such as the *bāzuband* or armlet, which consists of several pieces joined together in an elastic band, and he also makes braid, fringe, petticoat strings (*nāra*), and girdles for drawers (*izārband*). The Patwa does pretty much the same work; but the Musalmān occasionally adds to this whip-making as part of his business, which the Hindu does not. He buys up plain cotton and silk thread and dyes it himself, not, however, usually employing fast colours. The Lahera sub-caste is said to be so called because they chiefly use the lac dye (*lāk-lāk*) for this purpose. In Lucknow some are wealthy traders, selling lac trimming (*lākka*), *kala-bātūn*, or gold and silver thread, false gems and pearls, and they make up embroidery, presentation robes (*khi'āṭ*) and necklaces for entertainments (*kār*), etc.¹ The country Patwa very commonly deals in women's spangles and forehead ornaments (*tikuli*), and he sells various kinds of cosmetics, substances for making caste-marks, and common medicines.

Distribution of Patwas according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Agar-wāla.	Deoband.	Kharwār.	Others	Mubam-madans.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dūn	8	...	8
Sahāranpur	343	15	358
Muzaffarnagar	22	...	202	1	225
Meerut	202	10	212
Aligarh	33	...	33
Mathura	3	85	136	...	174

¹ Hoey, *Monograph*, 118, sq.

Distribution of Patwas according to the Census of 1891—contd.

DISTRICTS.	Agar- wala.	Deobansi.	Kharwar.	Others.	Muhan- madans	TOTAL.
Agra	528	...	528
Farrukhabad	175	...	217	...	392
Mainpuri . . .	55	3	...	64	...	122
Etawah . . .	19	...	...	278	...	297
Etah	37	3	...	105	...	145
Bareilly	824	...	824
Bijnor	93	...	325	...	418
Budaun	101	...	404	...	505
Moradabad	70	...	257	5	392
Shahjahanpur	...	837	...	103	...	940
Pilibhit	366	...	42	...	408
Cawnpur	246	...	410	...	656
Fatehpur	407	...	171	...	578
Banda	88	...	894	...	982
Hamirpur	18	...	543	...	561
Allahabad	745	...	449	27	1,221
Jhansi	163	...	163
Jalaun	286	...	286
Lalitpur	315	...	315
Benares	58	...	819	...	877
Mirzapur	975	...	196	2	1,173
Jaunpur	651	...	...	...	651
Ghazipur	166	9	352	...	527
Balla	1,902	3	373	...	2,278
Gorakhpur	121	75	2,044	4	2,244
Besti	118	1,281	160	...	1,559

Distribution of Patwas according to the Census of 1891—consolid.

DISTRICTS.	Agar-wāla.	Deobansi.	Kharwār.	Others.	Muham-madani.	TOTAL.
Azamgarh	342	48	312	44	746
Tarāi	43	...	35	...	78
Lucknow	466	...	219	...	685
Unāo	464	...	118	...	582
BĀĀ Bareli	763	...	100	...	863
Sitapur	729	...	194	...	923
Hardoi	945	...	13	...	958
Kheri	760	...	202	...	962
Faizābād	48	359	337	12	756
Gonda	1,525	65	...	1,590
Bahrāich	113	...	703	...	816
Sultānpur	136	193	483	8	820
Partābgarh	453	135	57	...	645
Bārabanki	356	...	168	37	561
TOTAL . . .	111	12,786	3,663	14,252	165	30,977

Pauhāri.—A variety of Bairāgis, who are said to derive their name from the Sanskrit *payas*, "milk," *ahāra*, "food," in reference to their rule of abstinence. The Pauhāriji of Paikauli in the Gorakhpur District is a notable personage, who wanders over that and the neighbouring Bihār Districts with a large train of followers. He has branch establishments at Baikunthpur, Ajudhya, Allahābād, and other places.

Pāwariya, Pānwariya.—A tribe of Muhammadan singers and dancers who take their name from *pānwara* (*pānw*, foot), the mat or carpet on which they sing and play. They are apparently very closely akin to the Dhārhi and Kingariya, under which heads some account of these people has been given.

Distribution of the Pāwariya according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.										Numbers.
Gorakhpur	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	147
Azamgarh	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	365
TOTAL										512

Pokharna.—A division of Brāhmans of whom only a few scattered families are found in these Provinces. According to the account generally received they take their name from the sacred lake of Pokhar or Pushkar, and by one legend they were the navvies who dug the lake, and who were raised to the rank of Brāhmans for their services. By their own story they were named Pushpakarna, "having a flower in the ear," because they offered flowers to Lakshmi, and, being cursed by Pārvati for refusing to eat flesh, migrated from Jaysalmer to Sindh, Cutch, Multān, and the Panjāb. Other castes affirm that the Pokharna is the illegitimate offspring of a Brāhman devotee and a Mohani fisherwoman, who independently undertook to ferry the holy man across the stream.¹ They wear the sacred thread, putting it on with little ceremony, generally at a relation's marriage, or at some place of pilgrimage. High caste Brāhmans do not eat with them. Among members of the same *gotra*, marriage is not allowed. On the sixth day after childbirth, the women of the family, singing as at a marriage, bring a clay horse from the house of the mother's father to the husband's house. At marriages the men dance in the procession and the women sing immodest songs.²

2. In the Panjāb they still worship the pickaxe with which they excavated the Pushkar Lake. They are the hereditary Brāhmans of the Bhātiyas of Rajputāna, and are more strict in caste matters than the Sarasvatas. They are found in some numbers in the Western Districts of the Panjāb.³

Potgar⁴—(Hindi *pot*, "a bead;" Sanskrit *protakāra*).—A small caste of bead-makers found only in the village of Naurera, Tahsil Patti, in the Partābgarh District, and numbering only 92 persons. They say that they were originally Kshatriyas, but have

¹ Burton, *Sindh*, 310.

² *Bombay Gasetteer*, V, 44.

³ Ibbetson, *Panjāb Ethnography*, para. 513.

⁴ From a note by Mr. D. Calnan, C. S.

no tradition as to how they came to adopt their present occupation. They wear the Brāhmanical cord. They do not admit outsiders into the caste. They follow the customs of high caste Hindus. They will not touch liquor or eat any kind of flesh, and are strict vegetarians. They will not eat or smoke with any caste other than their own. A full account of the bead manufacture has been given by Dr. Watt.¹

Prānnāthi.—A Hindu religious order which takes its name from one Prānnāth, a Kshatriya, who, being versed in Muhammadan as well as Hindu learning, composed a book called the Mahitāriyal, in which the Qurān is reconciled with the Vedas. He lived in the latter period of the reign of Aurangzeb, and is said to have acquired great reputation with Chhattasāl, Rāja of Bundelkhand, for whom he discovered a diamond mine. They appear in the Census returns chiefly in the Gorakhpur Division; but Professor Wilson says that Bundelkhand is the chief seat of the order, and at Panna is a building dedicated to the use of the sect, in one apartment of which, on a table covered with gold cloth, lies the volume of the founder.²

2. "As a test of the disciple's consent to the real identity of the Hindu and Muhammadan creeds, the ceremony of initiation consists of eating in the society of members of both communions; with this exception, and the admission of the general principle, it does not appear that the two classes confound their civil or even religious distinctions; they continue to observe the practices and ritual of their forefathers, whether Musalmān or Hindu, and the union, beyond that of the community of eating, is no more than any rational individual of either sect is fully prepared for, or the admission that the God of both and of all religions is one and the same."

Distribution of the Prānnāthis according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.										Numbers.
Pilibhīt	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	7
Lalitpur	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	13
Gorakhpur	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	26
Basti	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	23
TOTAL										69

¹ *Dictionary of Economic Products*, I, 426, sqq.

² *Essays*, I, 351. For an account of the religious books of this sect, see Growse, *Mathura*, 230, sqq.

Pundîr.—A sept of Rajputs who appear to belong to the Dahîma, one of the thirty-six royal tribes, of whom Colonel Tod¹ writes :—"The Dahîma has left but the wreck of a great name. Seven centuries have swept away all recollection of a tribe who once afforded one of the proudest themes for the song of the bard. The Dahîma was the lord of Bayâna and one of the most powerful vassals of the Chauhân Emperor, Prithivi Râja. Three brothers of this house held the highest offices under this monarch, and the period during which the elder, Kaunas, was his minister, was the brightest in the history of the Chauhân. But he fell a victim to blind jealousy. Pundîr, the second brother, commanded the frontier at Lahore. The third, Châond Râê, was the principal leader in the last battle, where Prithivi Râja fell, with the whole of his chivalry, on the banks of the Kâgar. Even the historians of Shahâb-ud-dîn have preserved the name of the gallant Dahîma, Châond Râê, whom they style Khandê Râê; and to whose valour, they relate, Shahâb-ud-dîn himself nearly fell a sacrifice. With the Chauhân, the race seems to have been extinguished." The original seat of the Panjâb² Pundîrs was Thâncsar and the Kurukshetra of Karnâl and Ambâlâ, with local capitals at Pûndri, Ramba, Hâbri and Pûndrak; but they were dispossessed by the Chauhân under Râna Har Râê, and for the most part fled beyond the Jumna. From this event most probably their settlement in these Provinces dates. In the Duâb they say that they came from Hardwâr in the Sahâranpur District. Their leader is said to have been Râja Damar Sinh, who established himself at Gambhîra in Pargana Akrâbâd of the Aligarh District. Their fort was Bijaygarh, which took its name from Bijay, brother of Damar Sinh. It was captured in 1803 at the cost of the lives of Colonel Gordon and other British officers. It has now passed into the hands of the Râja of Awa. These Duâb Pundîrs hold a respectable rank and intermarry with the higher Râjput septs.

2. In the Upper Duâb they are reported to give girls to the Bargûjar, Chauhân, Gahlot, Kathiya, Tomar, Chhokar, and Bhatti; and to take brides from the Bargûjar, Chauhân, Gahlot, Tomar, Bais, and Bhatti septs.

¹ *Annals*, I, 128.

² Ibbetson, *Panjâb Ethnography*, section 445.

Distribution of the PundĪr Rājputs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dūn . . . . .	...	1	1
Sahāranpur	18,120	7,267	25,387
Muzaffarnagar	7,128	3,875	11,003
Meerut . . . . .	...	15,680	15,680
Bulandshahr	991	122	11,113
Mathura	285	5	290
Aggra	98	1	99
Mainpuri	29	7	36
Etāwah	1	...	1
Etah	1,693	22	1,715
Budāun	247	...	247
Morādābād	54	...	54
Bānda	438	...	438
Allahābād	12	...	12
Gorakhpur	7	...	7
Basti	4	...	4
Rāē Bareli	2	...	2
Bahrāich . . . . .	...	24	24
Sultānpur	31	...	31
TOTAL	29,140	27,004	56,144

Purohit—(Sanskrit *purohita*, “one placed foremost or in front”).—One of the functional divisions of the Brāhman caste. In Vedic times the Purohit was regarded as a confidential and virtuous minister of state; but in Manu he is placed in a lower class than other Brāhmins. At the same time the institution of the Purohit, who was not only a mere house priest but a political functionary, goes back to that early period of history when the Turanians and Indians lived peaceably as one nation. His high position in early times is shown by the assertion that the gods do not accept the food offered by a king who has no house priest, and by the fierce contest

for the office which arose between the families of Vasishtha and Visvamitra.¹

2. The functions of the Purohit in modern times are confined to the performance of the less intricate rites, those of more ceremonial intricacy and importance being left to the Achârya, Hotri, Bidua, and other priests of higher rank. He helps his master to perform the annual *Srâddha*, acts the part of a Brâhman, who must be fed before his employer breaks his fast, officiates at the family shrine of the household gods, helps the barber to find a husband for his master's daughter, cooks for him on a journey, and arranges for the feeding of Brâhmanas. He sometimes does a vicarious pilgrimage for his employer, and the extension of these functions to the richer members of the lower castes is the chief method by which they are brought within the fold of Brâhmanism.

3. Of these Brâhman priests Sir Monier-Williams writes :² " His anger is as terrible as that of the gods. His blessing makes rich, his curse withers. Nay, more, he is himself actually worshipped as god. No marvel, no prodigy in nature, is believed to be beyond the limits of his power to accomplish. If the priest were to threaten to bring down the sun from the sky or arrest it in its daily course in the heavens, no villager would for a moment doubt his power to do so. And indeed the priests of India, in their character of Brâhmanas, claim to have worked a few notable miracles at different times and on various occasions. One of their number once swallowed the ocean in three sips, another manufactured fire, another created animals, and another turned the moon into a cinder. The priest confers incalculable benefits on the community of which he is a member by merely receiving their presents. A cow given to him secures heaven of a certainty to the lucky donor. The consequences of injuring him are terrific. A man who does him the smallest harm, must make up his mind to be whirled about after death, for at least a century, in a hell of total darkness."

Purwâl, Purwâr.—A sub-caste of Banyas who are believed to take their name from Puri or Jagannâth. According to Mr. Sherring³ they live in large houses in Benares and are persons of conse-

¹ Muir, *Ancient Sanskrit Texts*, I, 128. Note: Manu, *Institutes*, XII, 46. Haug, *Âitareya Brâhmanam*, I, 67: II, 528. Max Müller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 485, sqq.

² Monier-Williams, *Brâhmanism and Hinduism*, 457.

³ *Hindu Castes*, I, 288.

quence. The sub-caste is divided into twenty branches. Some are Vaishnavas and some Jains.

Distribution of Purwâl Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Jainas.	TOTAL.
Sahâranpur	1	7	8
Bulandshahr . . . . .	...	5	5
Mathura	9	86	95
Agra	434	4,048	4,482
Farrukhabâd	604	15	679
Mainpuri	336	237	573
Rtâwah	9,621	7	9,628
Etah . . . . .	...	3,159	3,159
Bareilly	519	...	519
Budâun	41	...	41
Pilibhit	42	...	42
Cawnpur	1,859	20	...
Fatehpur	40	...	40
Bânda	189	164	353
Hamîrpur	512	61	576
Allahâbâd	36	...	36
Jhânsi	189	1,504	1,693
Jâlaun	1,167	...	1,167
Lalitpur . . . . .	...	6,694	6,694
Ballia	25	...	25
Gorakhpur	6,183	...	6,183
Lucknow	13	...	13
Sitapur	4,078	...	4,078
Kheri	685	...	685
Gonda	156	..	156
Bahrâich	3,063	...	3,063
Bârabanki	1,041	...	1,041
TOTAL	30,803	16,010	46,813

Q

Qâdiri, Qâdiriya.—An order of Muhammadan Faqîrs, who are the followers of Abdul Qâdir Jilânî, who is buried in Bâghdâd. The Arabs, who have no hard *g* letter, alter to Jilân the name of his birth-place Gilân, a tract between the Caspian and the Black Sea. He is also known as Pîran-i-Pîr and Pîr Dastgîr, “the saint of saints, the helper of the helpless,” and as Ghaus-ul-Azam, Ghaus-ul-Sum-dâni, Mahbûb Subhâni, and so on. He was born in 1078 A.D., and died in 1166 A.D., and was buried at Bâghdâd, where he held the post of guardian of Abu Hanîfa’s tomb.¹ Mr. MacLagan writes: “Most of the Sunni Maulavis of the Panjâb belong to this order, as does also the Akhund of Swât. They practise both the silent and the loud form of service (the *zîkr-i-khâfi* as well as the *zîkr-i-jallî*). In youth they shout the *Kalîma* with a particular intonation of the words *illâh ’illâhu*, but afterwards articulate it with suppressed breath. They reject musical accompaniments, and seldom indulge in songs, even unaccompanied by music, in their religious devotions. They wear green turbans, and one of their garments must be of ochre, a colour first used by the saint Hasan Basri. The repetition of the Darûd, or salutation to the Prophet, bears a conspicuous part in the ceremonial of this order. Their chief places of sanctity in the Panjâb are the Khânqâh of Maulâna Muhammad Fâzil in Batâla; the Mausoleum in Lahore of Shâh Muhammad Ghaus, whose disciples are found as far as Kâbul, Ghazni, and Jalâlâbâd; the shrine of Tâhir Bandagi in Lahore, and that of Shâh Kamâl at Hujra Shâh Muqîm in the Montgomery District. There is also a shrine of his between the fort and the city at Ludhiâna, where the saint is said to have left his tooth-brush. A fair, called the Roshani Fair, is held here on the 14th of Rabi-us-Sâni; cattle are tied up at night at the shrine for good luck, and are said to keep watch (*chawki*) at the shrine, and women who desire offspring make offerings.”

2. The order has a special interest, as it was into this that Sir R. Burton was initiated before his famous pilgrimage to Makka and Madîna. The curious may consult the record of the journey for a copy of the diploma investiture which he received.²

¹ Beal, *Oriental Dictionary*, s. v.

² *Panjâb Census Report*, 194.

³ *II*, 327.

Distribution of the Qâdiris according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Dehra Dûn . . .	71	Bânda . . .	8
Sabâranpur . . .	316	Hamîrpur . . .	6
Muzaffarnagar . . .	164	Allahâbâd . . .	78
Bulandshahr . . .	759	Jhânsi . . .	1
Mathura . . .	13	Lalitpur . . .	14
Agra . . .	2	Ghâzipur . . .	129
Farrukhâbâd . . .	21	Gorakhpur . . .	21
Mainpuri . . .	22	Tarâi . . .	453
Etâwah . . .	36	Luoknow . . .	32
Etah . . .	65	Rââ Bareli . . .	110
Bareilly . . .	1,152	Sitapur . . .	2
Budâun . . .	206	Fai/âbâd . . .	236
Morâdâbâd . . .	294	Gonda . . .	1
Si Ahjahânpur . . .	401	Bahrâich . . .	15
Pilibhît . . .	677	Bârabanki . . .	129
Fatehpur . . .	2	TOTAL . . .	5,436

Qalâigar (Arabic *qaldî*, "tin").—The man who tins the copper cooking-vessels, which are so widely used both by Muhammadans and Christians. The caste, so-called, is purely occupational, and all who entered their names as such at the last Census were Muhammadans.

Distribution of the Qaldigars according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Muzaffarnagar . . .	4	Tarâi . . .	12
Budâun . . .	22	Lucknow . . .	
Morâdâbâd . . .	31	Gonda . . .	1
Fatehpur . . .	3	Bahrâich . . .	1
Jhânsi . . .	2	Sultânpur . . .	2
Ghâzipur . . .	10	TOTAL . . .	89

Qalandar.—A caste of Muhammadan Faqirs, bear and monkey leaders. According to Mr. Platts, the word is used for the original *kalandar*, “a rough, unshaped block or log.” They trace their origin to the Saint Bo ‘Ali Qalandar, who died in 1323-24. Of him many wondrous tales are told. He used to ride about on a wall, but at last settled down at Pânipat. “The Jamna then flowed under the town, and he prayed so continuously that he found it convenient to stand in the river and wash his hands without moving. After seven years of this he got stiff, and the fishes ate his legs; so he asked the river to step back seven paces and let him dry. In her hurry to oblige the saint, she retreated seven miles, and there she is now. He gave the people of Pânipat a charm which drove away all flies from the city. But they grumbled and said they rather liked flies, so he brought them back a thousandfold. The people have since repented. There was a good deal of trouble about his funeral. He died near Karnâl, and there they buried him. But the Pânipat people claimed his body, and came and opened his grave; on which he sat up and looked at them till they felt ashamed. They then took some bricks from his grave with which to found a shrine; but when they got to Pânipat and opened the box, they found his body in it; so he now lies buried both at Pânipat and Karnâl.”¹

2. The Qalandar of these Provinces is generally a lazy, swindling rascal, some of whom go about with snakes; others with tame bears and monkeys. He wears round his neck several strands of white stones or beads and glass. He also carries a bead rosary (*tabîsh*), and usually on his right wrist two or a single brass bangle. On his right leg he has an iron chain. He also has a vessel (*kish'ta*), made of cocoanut shell (*daryâi nâriyâl*), and a brass *lota*. Sometimes he has an iron bar as well. He announces his approach by twanging the *damaru*, or little drum, shaped like an hour glass. Those who have monkeys, the male being generally called Maula Bakhsh and the female Zahûran, make them dance to amuse children. Those who have bears, make them dance, and allow for a consideration little boys to ride on their backs, which is believed to be a charm against the small-pox. They also sell some of their hair, which is a favourite

¹Ibbetson, *Panjab Ethnography*, section 224: Lady Burton, *Arabian Nights*, I, 81; VI, 237.

amulet against the Evil Eye. Some go about as ordinary beggars. Though they wander about begging they are not absolute vagrants, as they have settled homes and families.

3. Marriage among them takes place at the age of from ten to twenty. They follow in all their ceremonies the rules of the Sunni sect of Muhammadans, to which they belong. Some of them have taken to the trade of the Bisâti, and make tin frames for lanterns and small boxes (*dibiya*) out of tin. All Muhammadans will eat and smoke with them. No Hindu, except a Dom or a Dharkâr, will touch their food.

4. The Qalandar is our old friend the Calendar of the *Arabian Nights*. Most of them are merely loafing beggars; but in Rohilkhand there appears to be a branch of them known as the Langrê, or "lame," Qalandars, who are said to be Rohillas from Râmpur.¹ They were formerly residents of Hardoi, and devoted themselves to stealing horses and ponies, which were passed from Oudh to British territory and *vice versa*. Shâhâbâd, in Hardoi, was regarded as their head-quarters, and there they had the name of Machhlê. On the annexation of Oudh, they divided into gangs, and nominated one Bânkê as their leader (*sargiroh*), with two assistants, known as the Bhandâri, or purveyor, and Kotwâl, or police officer. On the celebration of the marriage of any of their members they continue, if possible, to assemble together and distribute food and wine to the best of their ability; on the occasion of marriage ceremonies among the Khatris, when any of the gangs are present, gifts of food and money are given to them, which they designate their *birt*, or "maintenance." This is also the name given to what they receive on certain occasions when religious ceremonies are performed. They are very superstitious, and have their own omens and signs, some of which are considered lucky, and others the reverse. Thus the barking of a hyæna behind them or on their left is considered a bad omen.

5. This ~~be~~be, or rather the numerous gangs composing it, proceed through districts disguised and call themselves Langrê Qalandar or Rohillas of

Mode of thieving.

¹ Report of Mr. H. Ross, District Superintendent of Police, Pilibhît.

Râmpur. In Râmpur and the neighbourhood they use the former, and towards Lucknow the latter. They travel about in the cold and hot weather, but in the rains they settle down and occupy themselves in begging. Their wives and children accompany them, but they do not encumber their movements with any luxury, such as cattle, furniture, etc., having only one or two ponies for the transport of their personal effects, in addition to which, hidden among their quilts and blankets, are reins, ropes, and headstalls for the stolen ponies. This is undoubtedly the reason why they have hitherto never been classed as a criminal tribe, nor have raised suspicion as to their real character. They pass the night under trees or in the fields, or if near a populous place, in a convenient grove. During the day, disguised as beggars, they mark down the horses and ponies which they purpose to steal. When they obtain a fair number of animals, they pass off as horse-merchants, and make their escape as rapidly as possible. Animals stolen near Lucknow are sold in the northern parts of Oudh and the North-West Provinces—their chief markets being Bilâspur in the Râmpur State, Durâo in the Tarâi, and Chichait in Bareilly. They chiefly frequent the districts of Pilibhît, Kheri, Bahrâich, and the Tarâi, as they are close to Nepâl, where ponies and fodder are plentiful.

6. These people have a regular thieves' argot of their own, of which the following are examples :—

Thieves' argot of the
Langrê Qalandars.

<i>Bidna</i>	.	.	.	.	Man.
<i>Bidni</i>	.	.	.	.	Woman.
<i>Basta</i>	.	.	.	.	Rupee.
<i>Hairgi</i>	.	.	.	.	Cot.
<i>Botay</i>	.	.	.	.	Sheet, quilt.
<i>Bajrin</i>	.	.	.	.	Gun.
<i>Bodi</i>	.	.	.	.	Hair tuft.
<i>Châl</i>	.	.	.	.	Hair.
<i>Chetha</i>	.	.	.	.	Flour.
<i>Chiki</i>	.	.	.	.	Fire.
<i>Chitya</i>	.	.	.	.	Cat.
<i>Chimmi</i>	.	.	.	.	Fish.
<i>Charya</i>	.	.	.	.	Tree.
<i>Chirma</i>	.	.	.	.	Colt.
<i>Dhaind</i>	.	.	.	.	Burglary.

<i>Dhun</i>	.	.	.	.	Ear.
<i>Dádrín</i>	.	.	.	.	Leg.
<i>Dhurá</i>	.	.	.	.	Grain.
<i>Dhurcha</i>	.	.	.	.	Red pepper.
<i>Dhungara</i>	.	.	.	.	{ The <i>Singhára</i> nut (water caltrop).
<i>Dhingaila</i>	.	.	.	.	Bullock.
<i>Dhingaili</i>	.	.	.	.	Cow.
<i>Dhúwar</i>	.	.	.	.	Pig
<i>Dhung</i>	.	.	.	.	Sheep.
<i>Dhujja</i>	.	.	.	.	Cock.
<i>Dhuttar</i>	.	.	.	.	Camel.
<i>Dhúhari</i>	.	.	.	.	Sugarcane.
<i>Dhulluddár</i>	.	.	.	.	Police Officer.
<i>Dhuddah</i>	.	.	.	.	Duck.
<i>Dhurangi</i>	.	.	.	.	European.
<i>Dhúsa</i>	.	.	.	.	Mouse.
<i>Falakh</i>	.	.	.	.	Oil.
<i>Ghutrin</i>	.	.	.	.	Eyes.
<i>Ghummar</i>	.	.	.	.	Elephant.
<i>Ghuttani</i>	.	.	.	.	Eight Annas.
<i>Ghurka</i>	.	.	.	.	Water pot, jug.
<i>Jurha</i>	.	.	.	.	Pony.
<i>Jurhi</i>	.	.	.	.	Pony mare.
<i>Khunji</i>	.	.	.	.	Buffalo.
<i>Kumdar</i>	.	.	.	.	Comrade.
<i>Khuranga</i>	.	.	.	.	Donkey.
<i>Khurchna</i>	.	.	.	.	Pipe, <i>huqqah</i> .
<i>Khunnay</i>	.	.	.	.	House.
<i>Khail</i>	.	.	.	.	Wine.
<i>Lilka</i>	.	.	.	.	Butter, <i>ghi</i> .
<i>Lung</i>	.	.	.	.	Rope.
<i>Morhay</i>	.	.	.	.	Tooth.
<i>Malláo</i>	.	.	.	.	Tank, pond.
<i>Mórtín</i>	.	.	.	.	Goat.
<i>Mogán</i>	.	.	.	.	Jackal.
<i>Mithkar</i>	.	.	.	.	Sugarcane.
<i>Mukhi</i>	.	.	.	.	Sheep.
<i>Mohádar</i>	.	.	.	.	Village Watchman.
<i>Markni</i>	.	.	.	.	Bludgeon.

<i>Nudli</i>	.	.	.	.	Village.
<i>Niklu</i>	..	.	.	.	Bread
<i>Oi</i>	.	.	.	.	A well.
<i>Phirkni</i>	.	.	.	.	Cart.
<i>Pecha</i>	.	.	.	.	Pice.
<i>Patki</i>	.	.	.	.	Grass.
<i>Ráp</i>	.	.	.	.	Foot.
<i>Ratáila</i>	.	.	.	.	Stomach.
<i>Ratki</i>	.	.	.	.	Wheat.
<i>hápán</i>	.	.	.	.	Shoe.
<i>Sarpna</i>	.	.	.	.	Nose.
<i>Thunda</i>	.	.	.	.	Boy.
<i>Thundi</i>	.	.	.	.	Girl.
<i>Tháb</i>	.	.	.	.	Hand.
<i>Tena</i>	.	.	.	.	Head.
<i>Thum</i>	.	.	.	.	Grain.
<i>Tundul</i>	.	.	.	.	Rice.
<i>Theman</i>	.	.	.	.	Salt.
<i>Thimman</i>	.	.	.	.	Coarse sugar (<i>gur</i>).
<i>Thimjái</i>	.	.	.	.	Sweatmeat.
<i>Thubbák</i>	.	.	.	.	Reins.
<i>Thokay</i>	.	.	.	.	Jungle.
<i>Urka</i>	.	.	.	.	Grain.
<i>Dhulluddár áya hai, paté</i> <i>hoé.</i>				{	The Sub-Inspector is coming, run away.
<i>Khurchna tudlo</i>	.	.	.	.	Smoke the <i>huggak</i> .
<i>Oi sé chayan marap láo</i>	.	.	.	{	Fetch the water from the well.
<i>Phìni par dhurrap lo</i>	.	.	.	.	Get into the cart.
<i>Dhurangi bakussa</i>	.	.	.	.	A European approaches.
<i>Khunnay men áhaind lagi</i>	.	.	.	{	A burglary has been com- mitted in the house.
<i>Mohiddár bakussa, jurhi</i> <i>thokay men khon do.</i>	.	.	.	{	A watchman is coming, take the pony into the jungle.
<i>Nukka nudli men hurka</i>	.	.	.	{	A dog is barking in the jungle.

Distribution of the Qalandars according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Dehra Dûn . . .	13	Ghâzipur . . .	106
Meerut. . . .	317	Ballia	241
Bulandshahr . . .	644	Gorakhpur . . .	929
Aligarh	36	Basti	3,833
Mathura	23	Lucknow	11
Agra	11	Unâo	8
Farrukhâbâd . . .	19	Râi Bareilly . . .	207
Bareilly	157	Sitapur	62
Pilibhit	73	Kheri	74
Cawnpur	8	Faiâbâd	316
Fatehpur	12	Gonda	4
Allahâbâd	266	Bahrâich	10
Benares	25	Sultânpur	58
Mirzapur	63	Bârabanki	93
		TOTAL	7,628

Qassâb, Qassâi—(Arabic *qasâb*, "to cut"), the butcher caste.—They are usually separated into two endogamous sub-castes: Gaû, Gawa or Gorû Qassâi, who kill cows and buffaloes, and Bakar Qassâi, who kill only goats. The latter is also known by the names Chik, Chikwa or Buzqassâb (Persian *buz*, "a goat"). The Chiks are all Hindus, and have various sub-castes, one of which is Khatik. The Qassâbs are all Muhammadans of the Sunni sect, and follow the ordinary Muhammadan rules of exogamy and inheritance. Marriage usually takes place at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and when there are two or three marriageable youths in a family, they are generally married at the same time to save expense. Special reverence is paid in the east of the Province to the Pâñchon Pir, and in particular to Ghâzi Miyân, to whom fowls, cakes (*malîda*), sweetmeats, and garlands of flowers are offered. The food, after dedication, is consumed by the worshippers. At the Shab-i-bârât festival, they offer food to the sainted dead. The Gaû-qassâb, from his trade, is

naturally an object of detestation to orthodox Hindus. A common proverb runs : *Jahān sagarē gāon qassādi, tahān ek Ramdās ki kī basādi?* "How can a single servant of God live in a village of butchers?" In effecting his purchases, he often has to assume disguises, and sometimes procures his supplies through the agency of Nats. In Lucknow¹ there are two classes of Qassâbs : Kameladâr and Ghair Kameladâr, *Kamela* meaning the "shambles;" the former are slaughtermen, who sell wholesale, and the latter are retailers of meat, who buy from them and sell at shops. The former always count the hide their profit, and the latter sell at a fixed charge of one anna per ser for meat with bone, and one and a half annas per ser for boneless meat. Chikwas sometimes combine in a partnership of three or more; one remains in charge of the cattle yard and the other two go to neighbouring villages and buy up sheep and goats. Both Qassâbs and Chikwas again deal in hides.² Some, again, add to their meat business a trade in cloth and stone : a few hold land as non-occupancy tenants. "The Indo-Europeans all make their appearance in history as meat-eating peoples, and only among the Hindus did animal food as early as Vedic times give way more and more to a vegetable diet, obviously because of the climate."³ In Vedic times the Vaikarta was the butcher, who cut up and distributed the flesh of the sacrificial victim, and the custom is distinctly recognized and prescribed by Manu.⁴ In Buddhist times, however, we learn that in Madhyadesa "they do not keep swine or fowls, they do not deal in living animals, nor are there shambles or wine shops round their markets."⁵

Distribution of Chiks and Qassâbs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	CHIK.		QASSÂB.	
	Khatik	Others	Bakar-qassâb.	Others.
Dehra Dûn	79
Sahâranpur	11,751
Muzaffarnagar	17	12,170

¹ Hoey, *Monograph*, 163.

² See Hoey, *ibid.*, 90, *sqq.*

³ Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities*, 315.

⁴ *Institutes*, V, 32, *sqq.*

⁵ Boal, *Fahhian*, 55.

Distribution of Chiks and Qassâbs according to the Census of 1891—contd.

DISTRICTS.	CHIK.		QASSÂB.	
	Khatik.	Others.	Bakar-qassâb.	Others.
Meerut	16,013
Bulandshahr	906	8,384
Aligarh	291	5,461
Mathura	5,418
Agra	4,800
Farrukhâbâd	1,936	403	1,245
Mainpuri	551	...	1,019
Etâwah	34	812	...	745
Etah	722	...	2,947
Bareilly	287	2,394	242
Bijnor	766	8,500
Budâun	532	341	1,746
Morâdâbâd	33	6,851
Shâhjahânpur	585	533	2,519
Pilibhît	43	146	2,404
Cawnpur	2	1,774	40	2,040
Fatehpur	95	10	2,554
Bânda	778	88	134
Hamîrpur	541	...	575
Allahâbâd	409	621	2,675
Jbânsi	15	48	293
Jâlaun	138	...	30
Benares	1,295
Mirzapur	74	40	552
Jaunpur	540	1,340
Ghâzipur	1,945

Distribution of Chiks and Qassâbs according to the Census of 1891—conold.

DISTRICTS.	CHIK.		QASSÂB.	
	Khatik.	Others.	Bakar-qassâb.	Others.
Ballia	8	385
Gorakhpur	19	1,524
Basti	1,256	248
Azamgarh	124	2,510
Târai	2	...	696
Garhwâl	8	...
Lucknow	25	2,954	2,161
Unâo	297	2,380
RÂâ Bareilly	11	1,929	1,448
Sitapur	1,183	1,388
Hardoi . . .	13	50	1,559	892
Kheri	1	1,183	829
Faizâbâd	570	1,105
Gonda	231	1,909
Bahraich	918	675
Sultânpur	1,191	520
Partâbgarh	506	301
Bârâbanki	1,962	1,263
TOTAL .	49	9,381	23,155	1,25,361

R

Râdha : Bhagat.¹—A tribe found chiefly in Rohilkhand and Oudh. The people returning themselves as Bhagat in the last Census returns are probably the same people. In Bareilly they have three endogamous sub-castes : the Bhatela, Khatiya, and Bichauri. The rule of exogamy is that common to all tribes of this grade. According to tribal usage polygamy is forbidden ; but this regulation is violated by the chief men of the tribe. They know nothing of their origin except that they are in some way connected with Râdha, the mistress of Krishna. They are perhaps, like the Kingariyas, akin to the great Nat race. They have now settled down and do not admit outsiders to their tribe. Those who can afford it practise infant marriage ; the poor seldom marry till they are adult. The women are allowed no license either before or after marriage. Polyandry is prohibited as well as widow marriage. A wife detected in adultery is expelled from the house. They are Hindus and worship Parameswar, Devi, Mahâdeva, the Ganges, and the Miyân of Amroha, who is honoured with a sacrifice of sweet cakes (*gulgula*) and goats. These offerings are received by the Madâris who attend his shrine. Men and women both worship this godling. They engage Brâhmans for their religious and quasi-religious ceremonies. Such Brâhmans are received on equal terms with their brethren. They burn their adult dead and bury children. The ashes are consigned to the Ganges or any of its tributaries. They perform the usual *śrâddha* in the month of Kuâr as a propitiation to the spirits of the dead.

2. Their profession, as is shown by their name, is singing and

Occupation. dancing, and it has been so from time immemorial. Their musical instruments are the

tabla, or tambourine, and the *śrangî*, or guitar. Some of them have now turned to cultivation. They do not, like other similar tribes, prostitute their girls or married women. They abstain from intoxicating liquor, and eat no meat but that of goats.

¹ Based on notes by the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Bareilly.

*Distribution of the Râdhas and Bhagats according to the Census
of 1891.*

DISTRICTS.	RÂDHA.		BHAGAT.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Sabâranpur . . .	1	...	1	...
Farrukhâbâd . . .	60	64	82	103
Mainpuri . . .	4	6	5	2
Etâwah . . .	...	...	2	10
Etah . . .	...	...	76	51
Bareilly . . .	29	28	12	2
Budâun . . .	8	5	6	5
Morâdâbâd . . .	1	...	...	...
Shâhjahânpur . . .	281	282	...	...
Pilibhît . . .	64	74	...	...
Cawnpur . . .	1	...	...	...
Bânda . . .	3	1	1	3
Benares . . .	67	57	...	...
Tarâi . . .	7	4	...	...
Lucknow . . .	8	10	...	...
Sitapur . . .	359	376	...	...
Hardoi . . .	772	662	...	...
Kheri . . .	313	304	...	...
Bahrâich . . .	107	130	...	...
Râmpur . . .	18	83	...	...
TOTAL .	2,036	2,029	252	233

Râdha Swâmi.—A small sect, containing at the last Census only 188 adherents, mostly residents of Mathura; is said to have been founded by Râê Sâlig Râm, late Postmaster General of these Provinces. The tenets of the sect seem to differ little from those of the modern reformed Vaishnavas.

Râdha Vallabhi.—A Gusâin order founded by Hari Vans, of whom Mr. Growse¹ says:—"His father Vyâsa was a Gaur Brâhman of Devaban in the Sahâranpur District who had long been childless. He was in the service of the Emperor, and on one occasion was attending him on his march from Agra, when at last his wife Târa gave birth to a son at the little village of Bâd, near Mathura, in the Sambat year 1559. In grateful recognition of their answered prayers, the parents named the child after the god they had invoked and called him Hari Vans, *i.e.*, 'Hari's issue.' When he had grown up he took to himself a wife by name Rukmini, and had by her two sons and one daughter. After settling his daughter in marriage, he determined to abandon the world and live the life of an ascetic. With this resolution he set out alone on the road to Brindaban, and had reached Charthâwal near Hodal, when there met him a Brâhman, who presented him with his two daughters, and insisted on his marrying them, on the strength of a divine command which he said he had received in a vision. He further gave him an image of Krishna with the title of Râdha Vallabha, which, on his arrival at Brindaban, was set up by Hari Vans in a temple that he had erected between the Jugal and the Koliya Ghâts on the banks of the Jamuna. Originally he had belonged to the Mâdhvâcharya Sampradâya, and from them and the Nimbâraks, who also claim him, his doctrine and ritual were professedly derived. But in consequence of the mysterious incident by which he had been induced to forego his intention of leading a celibate life, and to take to himself two wives, or rather in consequence of his strong natural passions which he was unable to suppress and therefore invented a fiction to excuse, his devotion was all directed, not to Krishna himself, except in a very secondary degree, but to his fabled mistress Râdha, whom he deified as the goddess of lust."

2. After quoting some of his poems, Mr. Growse goes on to say: "If ever the language of the brothel was borrowed for temple use it has been so here. But, strange to say, the Gusâins, who accept as their gospel these nauseous ravings of a diseased imagination, are for the most part highly respectable married men, who contrast rather favourably with the professors of rival sects that are based on more reputable authorities. Several of them have a

¹ Mathura, 185, *sqq.*

very good knowledge of literary Hindi; but their proficiency in Sanskrit is not very high.

3. "To indicate the fervour of his passionate love for his divine mistress, Hari Vans assumed the title of Hīt Ji, and is popularly better known by this name than by the one which he received from his parents. His most famous disciple was Vyās Ji of Orchha, of whom various legends are reported. On his first visit to the Swāmi he found him busy cooking, but at once propounded some knotty theological problems. The sage, without any hesitation, solved the difficulty, but first threw away the whole of the food which he had prepared, with the remark that no one could attend properly to two things at once. Vyās was so struck with this procedure that he then and there enrolled himself as his disciple, and in a short space of time conceived such an affection for Brindaban that he was most reluctant to leave it, even to return to his wife and children. At last, however, he forced himself to go, but he had not been with them long before he determined that they should themselves disown him, and accordingly he one day in their presence ate some food from a Bhangī's hand. After this act of social excommunication, he was allowed to return to Brindaban, where he spent the remainder of his life, and where his Samādhi or tomb is still to be seen."

Distribution of the Rādha Vallabhi Gaudins according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Muzaffarnagar	30	Morādābād	2
Agra	70	Lalitpur	5
Mainpuri	5	Gorakhpur	13
Etah	13	Gonda	111
Bijnor	3	TOTAL	252
Males		160	
Females		92	

Raghubansi.—A sept of Rājputs connected with the Nikumbh (q. v.). Those in Sultānpur¹ profess to be lineally descended from Raghu, an ancestor of Rāma, and claim to have been settled in

¹ *Settlement Report*, 135.

their present abode ever since the time of their eponymous ancestor. For centuries they resisted successfully the threatened encroachments of the Bachgotis; and maintained intact a frontier marked by a little nameless affluent of the Gumti. It was not till within the half century of disorder and misrule which preceded the annexation of the Province, that they succumbed, and even now, though only in a subordinate position, they retain no considerable portion of their ancient heritage. In Sitapur¹ they have suffered much in recent times, and are gradually dying out. In their estates a tradition exists that the cultivation of sugar is fatal to the farmer, and that the tiling of a house brings down divine displeasure upon the owner; hence to this day no sugar is grown and not a tiled house is to be seen.

2. In Sultānpur they marry girls of the Bilkhariya, Tashaiya, Chandaurya, Kath Bais, Bhālê Sultān, Chandel, and Palwār septs; and give brides to the Tilokchandi Bais, Mainpuri Chauhāns, Sūrajbansis of Māhul, Gautams of Nāgar, Majhauri Baisens, Rāj-kumār and Bachgoti. Their *gotra* is Kasyapa. In Jaunpur they take brides of the Nikumbh, Gaharwār, Chaupat Khamb, Bais Bisen, Kākan, Singhel, Sombansi, and Ujjaini.

Distribution of the Raghubansi Rājputs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Sahāranpur . . .	9	Bareilly . . .	59
Meerut . . .	21	Budāun . . .	342
Aligarh . . .	46	Morādābād . . .	95
Mathura . . .	19	Shāhjahanpur . . .	1,396
Agra . . .	83	Pilibhūt . . .	114
Farrukhābād . . .	210	Cawnpur . . .	261
Mainpuri . . .	221	Fatehpur . . .	479
Etāwah . . .	294	Bānda . . .	1,725
Etah . . .	414	Hamirpur . . .	614

¹ *Oudh Gazetteer*, III, 890.

Distribution of the Baghubansi Râjputs according to the Census of 1891—consolid.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Allahâbâd	403	Lucknow	269
Jhânsi	57	Unâo	324
Jâlsun	33	Rââ Bareli	797
Lalitpur	10	Sîtapur	611
Benares	15,197	Haidoi	156
Mirzapur	2,935	Kheri	431
Jaunpur	17,412	Faizâbâd	2,921
Ghâzipur	2,956	Gonda	11
Ballia	151	Bahîâich	175
Gorakhpur	1,445	Sultânpur	3,687
Basti	997	Partâbgarh	90
Azamgarh	2,477	Bâtabanki	1,249
Tarâi	20	TOTAL	61,316

Rahwâri¹ (*rahwâr*, "quickpaced, active").—A caste of camel owners and drivers, also known as Riwâri, Râêwâri. Of these people Abûl Fazl writes²:—"Raibâri is the name given to a class of Hindus who are acquainted with the habits of the camel. They teach the country-bred *lokh* camel so to step as to pass over great distances in a short time. Although from the capital to the frontiers of the Empire, into every direction, relay horses are stationed, and swift runners have been posted at the distance of every five *kos*, a few of these camel riders are kept at the palace in readiness. Each Raibâri is put in charge of fifty stud *arwânaks*, to which, for the purpose of breeding, one *bughur* and two *loks* are attached." Colonel Tod,³ writing of the Raibâris, says:—"This term is known throughout Hindustân only as denoting persons employed in rearing

¹ Largely based on a note by Bâbu Atma Râm, Head Master, High School-Methura.

² Blochmann, *Atn-t-Akhbari*, I, 147, sq. For a complete account of the camel, see Watt, *Economic Dictionary*, s.v.

³ *Annals*, II, 357.

and tending camels, who are there always Muslims. Here they are a distinct tribe and Hindus, employed in rearing camels, or in stealing them, in which they evince a peculiar dexterity, uniting with the Bhattis in the practice as far as Dâûdputra. When they come upon a herd grazing, the boldest and most experienced strikes his lance into the first he reaches, then dips a cloth in the blood, which, at the end of his lance, he thrusts close to the nose of the next, and, wheeling about, sets off at speed, followed by the whole herd, lured by the scent of blood and the example of their leader." Of the Bombay branch of the tribe we are told that "in Kachchh they say they came from Mârwar, and this is supported by the fact that the seat of their tribe goddess Sikotra is at Jodhpur. The story of their origin is that Siva, while performing religious penance (*tap*), created a camel and a man to graze it. This man had four daughters, who married Râjputs of the Chauhân, Gambhîr, Solanki, and Piamâr tribes. These and their offspring, were all camel drivers. Tall and strongly made, with high features and an oval face, the Rahwâri, like the Ahîr, takes flesh and spirits, and does not scruple to eat with Musalmâns. He lives for days solely on camel's milk. Except a black blanket over his shoulders, the Rahwâri wears cotton clothes. This waist cloth (*dhoti*) is worn tucked through his legs, and not wound round the hips like a Râjput's. They live much by themselves in small hamlets of six or eight grass huts. They are described as civil and obliging, honest, intelligent, contented, and kindly. They are very poor, living on the produce of their herds. Each family has a she-camel called Mâta Meri, which is never ridden, and whose milk is never given to any one but a Hindu." ¹

2. They pretend to possess a complete set of *gotras*; but no one

The Rahwâris of the
North-West Provinces.

can even attempt to give a full list of them. A man cannot marry in his mother's or grandmother's *gotra*. They claim to be Râjputs, but cannot designate any particular sept as that from which they have sprung. They do not admit outsiders into their tribe. Both infant and adult marriages are allowed, and no sexual license on the part of the girls is tolerated before marriage. Polyandry is prohibited, and polygamy allowed up to the extent of three wives at a time. The marriage is celebrated in the usual Hindu fashion, and the perambulations

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, V, 80; see also VII, 137, sq.

(*bhādnwar pāirna*) round the nuptial shed are the binding part of the ritual. A widow may marry again by the *dharīcha* form, and the levirate is permitted, but it is not compulsory on the widow to marry the younger brother of her late husband. A wife can be expelled from the house for infidelity, and for no other cause. Such a woman may marry again in the tribe by the *dharīcha* form.

3. The Rahwâris are Vaishnavas and worship Bhagwân. They worship Devi in the months of Chait and
 Religion and customs. Kuâr, as well as Zâhir Pîr in Bhâdon. They eat the offerings themselves, which consist of sweetmeats and fruits. They employ Brâhmanas as their family priests, and such Brâhmanas are received on an equality with those who do the same service for other castes. They burn their dead. Poor people leave the ashes on the cremation ground; those who can afford it take them to the Ganges or Jumna. They do the *srâddha*, and some even go to Gaya for that purpose. Their primary occupation is rearing, tending, and letting out camels for hire. Some have purchased land, others cultivate as tenants, and others are landless labourers. They eat the flesh of cloven-footed animals, fowls, and fish; but not monkeys, pork, beef, flesh of whole footed animals, crocodiles, snakes, lizards, jackals, rats, or other vermin, or the leavings of other people. They can eat *pakki* in the same dish with Jâts, and can use their tobacco pipes, and they will also smoke with Gûjars; but they will eat *kachchi* only with their own caste. The Rahbâri, as he appears in these Provinces, has rather an evil reputation for high-handedness, and he is proverbially deceitful and untrustworthy.

Distribution of the Rahwâris according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Muzaffarnagar . . .	39	Mampurî . . .	34
Meerut . . .	18	Etah . . .	4
Bulandshahr . . .	89	Jhânsî . . .	2
Mathura . . .	454	Ghâzipur . . .	4
Agra . . .	254	TOTAL . . .	898

Raikwâr.—A sept of Râjputs who claim to be of Sûrajbansi origin. Their settlement in Bahrâich¹ dates from about 1414 A. D.,

¹Settlement Report, 28, sq.

when, during the anarchy that prevailed through Hindustân on the decline of the house of Tughlaq, the two brothers, Pratâp Sâh and Dondi Sâh, Sûrajans Râjputs, migrated from Raika in Kashmîr, whence they profess to take their name, and finally took up their abode at Râmnagar in the Bârabanki District. His sons overcame the Bhar Râja and acquired his estate about 1450 A.D., and since then the Raikwârs have been masters of the western part of the district. In the time of Akbar, Ilarihar Deva, fifth in descent from Pratâp Sâh, who had been summoned to court to explain a breach of good manners in levying toll from one of the Princesses as she passed through his estate on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Sayyid Sâlâr, rendered such assistance to the Emperor in his campaign against the rebellious Governor of Kashmîr, that he was granted nearly nine parganas. The connection of the Unâo¹ family with the great Râjas on the banks of the Ghâgra had been entirely broken off; but when they began to rise in political importance they sought to renew it, and Mitthu Sinh and Bakht Sinh went to Râmnagar and claimed brotherhood with the Râja. He heard their story and entertained them with hospitality, and sent them out food. Amongst other things he provided tooth-brushes made of the wood of the *nîm* tree. All other Râjputs place a special value on this wood; but the Raikwârs alone are forbidden to use it. The rejection of these tooth-brushes by his guests proved to him that they were truly of his own kin. The brother of the founders of the families of Baundi and Râmnagar² was Bhairwanand. His nephews concocted a prophecy that their uncle should be sacrificed to secure the future greatness of the family, and he gave up his life for their sake. A platform, erected in the village of Chanda Sihali, marks the tradition that Bhairwanand fell into a well and was allowed to drown there in the hope that the prophecy would be fulfilled and their rule continue for ever. To the present day Raikwârs make an annual pilgrimage to the platform of Bhairwanand.

2. In Râê Bareli³ their sons marry girls of the Bisen and Trans-Ghâgra Bais; their daughters marry in the Bais, Panwâr, and Amethiya septs. In Bareilly they select brides from the Bâchhal

¹ Elliott *Chronicles*, 44, sq.

² *Manual of Titles in Oudh*, 10: *Oudh Gazetteer*, I, 117, 120 sq., 257, 285, 288.

³ *Settlement Report*. Appendix C.

and Gautam septs; their sons marry Janghâra, Bhûr and Katheriya girls. In Farrukhâbâd they claim to belong to the Vasishtha *gotra*; their girls marry in the Sombansi, Râthaur, and Chauhân septs; their sons, in the Katheriya, Gaur, Baisgaur, Nikumbh, Jaiswâr, Chamâr Gaur, Ujjaini, and Parihâr. In Unâo their daughters marry Dikhits, Gaharwârs, Janwârs, Chauhâns, and Chandels; their sons, Mahrors and Gahlots. In Unâo they say they belong to the Bhâradvâja *gotra*; they take brides from the Bisen, Ahban, Katheriya, Gaur, and Chandel, and give brides to the Sombansi, Chandel, Gaur, Chauhân, Tomar, and Ahban. In Hardoi,¹ during the Mutiny, they were remarkable for their lawlessness, and it was in attacking their fort at Ruiya that the lamented Adrian Hope was killed.

Distribution of the Raikwâr Rājputs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dûn	1	.	1
Sahâranpur . . . . .	...	14	14
Muzaffarnagar . . . . .	...	606	606
Mathura	2	...	2
Agra	1	...	1
Farrukhâbâd	623	32	655
Mainpuri	87	...	87
Etâwah	80	...	80
Etah	39	...	39
Bareilly	355	..	355
Budâun	760	...	760
Morâdâbâd	41	...	41
Shâhjahânpur	99	10	109
Pilibhît	2	10	12
Cawnpur	261	...	261
Fatehpur	116	...	116

¹ *Settlement Report*, 184.

*Distribution of the Raikwar Rajputs according to the Census of
1891—conold.*

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Bānda	28	...	28
Hamīrpur	63	...	63
Allahābād	401	45	446
Jhānsi	4	...	4
Jālaun	462	1	463
Lalitpur	3	..	3
Benares	1	...	1
Jaunpur	95	...	95
Ghāzipur	228	...	228
Ballia	701	...	701
Gorakhpur	843	14	857
Basti	881	...	881
Azamgarh	1,025	...	1,025
Lucknow	407	...	407
Unāo	2,070	431	2,501
Rāc Bareli	168	39	207
Sitapur	1,165	62	1,227
Hardoi	2,073	...	2,073
Kheri	306	9	315
Faizābād	1,758	...	1,758
Gonda	737	...	737
Bahrāich	4,247	350	4,597
Sultānpur	282	42	324
Partābgarh	916	116	1,032
Bārabanki	2,578	17	2,595
TOTAL	23,909	1,798	25,707

Râin.—A gardening and cultivating caste found in the Meerut and Rohilkhand Divisions, with both a Hindu and Muhammadan branch. They are the same as the Arâins of the Panjâb, of whom Mr. Purser writes¹ :—"The Arâins say they came from Sirsa, Raniya, and Delhi, and were originally Hindu Râjputs. They claim to be descended from Râê Jaj, the grandson of Lava, founder of Lahore. Jaj was the ruler of the Sirsa territory, and on that account was called Râê; and his descendants became subsequently known as Arâin. They became Muhammadans chiefly in the time of Shahâb-ud-din Ghori, or at the end of the twelfth century. Some three hundred years ago they came to this part of the country. Some of the Arâins of the Jalandhar Tahsil say they are the descendants of Râja Bhûta, fifth in descent from Râja Karan, and were settled in Uchh. They were forcibly converted by Mahmûd of Ghazni. They then migrated to Sirsa, and thence at various times came into the Panjâb. They had to leave Uchh because they refused to give a lady, called Basanti, to the king. This is clearly proved by this verse, which also shows the straits they were reduced to—

*Uchh na dîtê Bhûtan chata Basanti ndr ;
Dâna pânî chuk gaya ; châban moti kâr.*

'The Bhûtas neither gave Uchh nor the lady Basanti ;
food and water were exhausted ; they had to eat pearls.'

2. "One of the chief Arâin clans is called Bhutta. They are generally supposed to be converted Kambohs, and say they are legitimate, and the Kambohs the illegitimate, offspring of a common ancestor. In my enquiries they would admit no relationship. It would seem they were originally located on the lower Indus, and that one section of them settled on the Ghaggar. When this river dried up, they moved into the Jumna and Cis-Satlaj tracts ; and perhaps spread along the foot of the hills and across the line of movement of their brethren, who were moving up the valleys of the great rivers. By some they are said to be the same stock as the Sainis ; but this is certainly not a common tradition, and the assertion is probably based on the fact that the Arâins are called in Persian Bâghbânân, which is the translation of *Mâli*, or gardener, and that Saini is only a local term for the *Mâlis*. It may be noted that Mahr is a title among the Arâins, and also among the Gûjars."

¹ *Jalandhar Settlement Report*, 82, sq.

3. From Hissâr Mr. Fagan writes:—"In Hissâr they are exclusively Musalmân and claim Râjput descent, their ancestor having lost caste by taking to agriculture. Their *gotras* appear to bear Râjput names, such as Siroha, Chauhân, and Bhâti. There is however one *gotra* called Katma, which is said to consist of the true Arâins, who are not Râjputs. The tradition of the Sirsa Râins is that they were expelled from Uchh, near Multân, by their enemies, and escaped by abandoning their military rank and taking to market gardening, the tribal occupation of their neighbours, the true Râins. They came and settled on the Ghaggar, and up to the famine of 1795 A.D. they are said to have held the whole of the Ghaggar valley from Bhatner up to Tohâna in Fatehâbâd. The famine, combined with the attacks of the marauding Bhatti Râjputs, weakened their hold on the land, and they finally broke before the Châlîsa famine of 1793 A.D. (*Sambat 1840*) and many of them emigrated to Barilly, Pilibhât, and Râmpur in the North-West Provinces. On the advent of British power they again expanded, principally in Sirsa. One clan deny any connection with the Musalmân Kambohs, which the Sirsa Râins appear to admit."

4. Mr. Ibbetson says¹:—"The Satlaj Arâins in Sirsa say that they are, like the Arâins of Lahore and Montgomery, connected by origin with the Hindu Kambohs. Mr. Wilson thinks it probable that both classes are really Kambohs who have become Musalmâns, and that the Ghaggar Arâins emigrated in a body from Multân, while the others moved gradually up the Satlaj into their present place. He describes the Arâins of the Ghaggar as the most advanced and civilised tribe in the Sirsa District, and he considers them at least equal in social status to the Jâts, over whom they themselves claim superiority."

Distribution of Râins according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Musalmâns.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dûn . . . . .	...	135	135
Sahâranpur	131	1,168	1,299
Muzaffarnagar	12	2,099	2,111

¹ *Panjab Ethnography*, 267.

Distribution of the Râjs according to the Census of 1891—conold.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Musalâmâns.	TOTAL.
Mathura . . . . .	...	1	1
Bareilly . . . . .	...	1,918	1,918
Morâdâbâd . . . . .	...	1	1
Pilibbît . . . . .	...	5,197	5,197
Jhânsi . . . . .	...	3	3
Gorakhpur	3	...	3
Tarâi . . . . .	...	4,573	4,573
Bahrâich . . . . .	...	2	2
TOTAL	146	15,097	15,243

Râj, Râj Mistri, Thawai (in Persian *Me'mâr*).—The mason and bricklayer caste. The word Râj means either a "head workman" (Hindi *râja*) or is a corruption of the Persian *râz*; Mistri is a corruption of the Portuguese *mestre*; Thawai of the Sanskrit *stha pati*. The caste is a purely occupational one, and is recruited from many of the lower castes, among whom Chamârs are very numerous.

Distribution of the Râj Mistris according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Musalâmâns.	TOTAL.
Sahâranpur	318	166	484
Muzaffarnagar	390	166	556
Meerut	246	77	323
Bulandshahr	577	4	581
Aligarh	285	2	287
Mathura	54	...	54
Agra	8	56	64
Farrukhâbâd	16	189	205
Mainpuri	181	...	181

209 RÂJ, RÂJ MISTRI, THAWAI.

Distribution of the Rdj Mistris according to the Census of 1891- contd.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Musalmins	TOTAL.
Etâwah	157	2	159
Etah	145	90	235
Bijnor . . . . .	...	258	258
Budâun	41	327	368
Morâdâbâd	26	290	316
Shâhjahânpur	12	122	134
Pilibhît . . . . .	...	3	3
Cawnpur . . . . .	...	38	38
Fatehpur . . . . .	...	158	158
Hamîrpur	26	1	27
Allahâbâd	21	35	56
Jhânsi	123	3	126
Jâlaun	10	...	10
Benares . . . . .	...	98	98
Jaunpur . . . . .	...	109	109
Ghâzipur . . . . .	...	10	10
Gorakhpur	34	128	162
Basti . . . . .	...	112	112
Azamgarh . . . . .	...	12	12
Tarâi . . . . .	...	5	5
Lucknow	2	5	7
Unâo . . . . .	...	249	249
Râe Bareli . . . . .	...	184	184
Sitapur . . . . .	...	4	4
Hardoi	4	4	8
Kheri	145	36	181
Faizâbâd . . . . .	...	90	90

Distribution of the Râj Mistris according to the Census of 1891—conold.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Musalmans.	TOTAL.
Gonda . . . . .	...	28	28
Bahrâich	171	...	171
Sultânpur . . . . .	...	238	238
Partâbgarh . . . . .	...	21	21
Bârabanki	73	148	221
TOTAL	3,165	3,468	6,633

Râji ("the royal people").—A tribe, apparently of non-Aryan affinities, found in Askot, in Kumaun, and in small numbers along the lower Himâlayan ranges.

2. They have been identified with the Râjya Kirâtas, who, in

early Sanskrit literature, are joined with the Traditions of origin.

Sakas and Savaras as Dasyus, and are placed by the Varaha Sanhita between Amaravana and China, or between Jagesar and Tibet; and the title will mean either "the princely Kirâtas" or the "the Kirâtas of Râjya."¹ The Râjis have often been noticed by ethnographers whose speculations have been based on a few lines by Mr. Traill.² It is there said that the Râji represent themselves as descendants of one of the aboriginal princes of Kumaun, "who with his family fled to the jungle to escape the destruction threatened by an usurper. Under the pretension of royal origin, the Râwats or Râjis abstain from offering to any individual, whatever his rank, the usual Eastern salutation." He also states that there is a total dissimilitude of language between the Râjis and Kumâunis, and that the Doms may have been descended from these Râjis, "the former being, for the most part, extremely dark, almost black, with crisp, curly hair, inclining to wool." This, until the present enquiries, is the only account that has been given on any authority regarding the Râjis; yet

¹ Muir, *Ancient Sanskrit Texts*, II, 365, 491; Wright, *Nepâl*, 89, 106, 110, 312; *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1849, pages 733, 766; 1858, page 446, quoted by Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, II, 364, sqq.

² *Report, Kumaun*, 19, 57; *Asiatic Researches*, XVI, 150.

Professor Ritter found in it confirmation of the opinion that a Negro race may have been among the aboriginal inhabitants of the Himālaya and Kuen-lun. There is no foundation for the statement that the Doms have curly hair inclining to wool. Out of hundreds that have come under notice, not a single one can be said to have any Negroid characteristic, though many are of an extremely dark complexion, like the other similar servile castes in the plains. Dr. Pritchard¹ conjectured that the Râjis would be found to resemble the other numerous aboriginal tribes found along the Himālayan border, all "possessing the physical character of the Bhotiyas in general and very unlike the Doms." Dr. Latham² too expresses his conviction that the Râjis are "the equivalents to the Chepang of Nepāl." Captain Strachey noticed "nothing very remarkable about them, except an expression of alarm and stupidity in their faces, and they are perhaps darker and otherwise more like lowland Hindustānis than the average Kumaun *Pahāris*." They manufacture wooden bowls for sale and "live under temporary huts, frequently moving from place to place amidst the jungles of Chipula; their principal subsistence being certain edible sorts of wild plants and what game they can catch, and they occasionally get presents of cooked food from the villagers. They have a dialect of their own, but some of them can communicate with their civilized neighbours in *Pahāri* Hindi." The scanty vocabulary of the Râji languages that has been collected supports the connection with the tribes of Nepāl suggested by Dr. Latham.

3. The following more particular account of the Râjis has been

Fresh enquiry.

prepared from notes by Bhawāni Singh,
Teacher of the Deoliya Kot School in the

Almora District:—

4. They are known by two names: Râji and Râwat. These

Traditions and marriage.

names are used by the people themselves as well as by outsiders. They say that they are descended from the servants of the Râja

of Kutpur, by whom they were expelled for some fault. Since then they have been wandering about in the hills and forests, living on jungle produce. At the time of their expulsion the Râja of Kutpur was Nīl Kapāl, but they cannot say how many

¹ *Researches*, IV, 206, 231.

² *Ethnology of the British Colonies*, 132; Atkinson, *loc. cit.*, 366.

years ago he lived. This Kutpur family, they say, reigned for thirty-eight generations—from Vikramaditya to Biram Deo. All the members of the tribe consider themselves equal and intermarry freely. Their appearance, in the opinion of this observer, suggests a doubt as to whether they are not the degraded descendants of one of the higher castes. Their tribal deity is Bāgh Nāth, "the tiger lord," who has a shrine at Kutpur, supported by an endowment of villages. They practise the ordinary Hindu law of exogamy; but they are not allowed to marry two sisters. They are monogamous, but can keep concubines. The bridegroom's father or, in default of him, some near relation, arranges the marriage. If the parties are minors, the consent of the parents is essential. Some small bride-price is usually paid. Part of this is paid a few days before the marriage, and the balance when the husband brings home his bride. The greater part of it becomes the special property of the bride, and if she be divorced, which can be done if she proves unfaithful or contracts leprosy, she takes away with her her own share of the bride-price. A divorced woman, can marry again, and the offspring of regular marriages, widow marriages, and those contracted with divorced women, all inherit equally the property of their father. The levirate is allowed with the usual restriction that it is only the younger brother of the husband that can marry his widow. If the widow marries an outsider, the guardianship of her children by her first husband falls to the brother of her late husband. They succeed to the whole estate of their father; if there be no sons, his brethren succeed.

5. The baby is named five days after birth, and on that day the family eat specially good food. There is no trace of the couvade and no custom of adoption.

6. When a boy attains majority, his father goes and arranges the price of a bride for him. He pays over something in advance to close the bargain, and is then feasted, and remains there for the night. Then a date is fixed, and the boy's father comes with his friends and relations and takes the bride home. A betrothal cannot be annulled by the friends of the girl once they have received part of the bride-price in advance. The only ceremony at the reception of the bride into the family of her husband is that his mother rubs some yellow pigment on her forehead as she enters the house.

7. They bury their dead in any convenient place in the jungle.

The clothes of the dead person and the sheet

Disposal of the dead. in which the corpse is wrapped are laid over the grave and not removed by the friends. It may be conjectured that the idea is to provide clothing for the naked spirit in the next world.

8. The children of the deceased and his younger brothers get their heads, beards, and moustaches shaved,

Ancestor worship. and the hair is thrown on the grave as a sacrifice to the spirit of the dead man. They appear to perform no ceremony in the nature of the *saddha*, and no loss of ceremonial purity results after death, childbirth, or menstruation.

9. They call themselves Hindu by religion. They worship

Religion. Devi in the month of October under a large tree with an offering of cooked food and animal sacrifice. When any one gets ill, they worship the gods, ghosts, and demons of the jungle; but they erect no temples in their honour, and make no pilgrimages. They appear to have no caste initiation ceremony, and no priests. Their religious duties are performed by the eldest male member of the family. The worship of Devi is performed publicly by day; but that of the ghosts and demons, secretly by night. The special offering to Devi consists of goats; the demon and ghosts are propitiated by a sacrifice of fowls. These offerings are made on the tops of hills or under some large trees. After the offering is made, the meat is consumed by the worshippers.

10. Their festivals are the Kark Sankrānt, or "passage of the sun into the sign of Cancer;" and those of

Festivals Aries and Capricornus, *Mekhā, Makara ki Sankrānt*; marriage days and after childbirth. On these festivals they eat specially good food themselves and entertain their relations and friends. They believe that demons and ghosts inhabit the tops of mountains, rivers, wells, and wherever water accumulates. If, after a visit to the jungle, a person becomes ill, they attribute the attack to the wrath of the jungle demon. It is then necessary to propitiate him with appropriate sacrifices. The fields are haunted by a special demon known as Chhal, who is, as a rule, benignant. Though they keep no annual feasts in their honour, they live in excessive dread of the ghosts of their deceased relations. These ghosts are of two kinds: some are worshipped as

the protectors of the household'; and others because, if neglected, they bring disease and death.

11. Their chief omens are derived from throbbing of various parts of the body. Thus the throbbing of the left eye or of any member on the left side of the body forebodes evil; the opposite is the case with the throbbing of any member on the right side of the body.

12. They are much in dread of the Evil Eye, and of demoniacal influence generally: the favourite precaution is to bestow opprobrious names of their children.

13. They are not skilled in any special form of magic or witchcraft, but certain persons occasionally fall under the influence of a demon, and in a state of ecstasy pour out incoherent expressions, which are regarded as oracles. In such cases the family guardian demon is invoked to expel the malignant intruder, and he instructs them which form of worship or sacrifice should be used to bring about this result. The name of this family demon is Baitāl, the Sanskrit Vetāla.

14. They are not allowed to eat food which has been touched by Doms, Dhobis, and similar foul castes. Their chief business is to act as the pioneers of civilization by clearing the jungle. In this occupation they believe themselves to be much exposed to the attacks of the demons of the jungle; and in order to ward them off, they bury in the earth some animal bones or hang them on a tree close to the spot where they are working. They eat the flesh of cloven-footed animals and fish. They drink spirits freely when procurable. There is no food or drink specially reserved for males. All members of the family eat together in the same plastered enclosure (*chāuka*), within which they place the leaf vessels in which they take their food. They are said never to use any form of salutation, either to strangers or to relatives and friends; the reason of this is, that they pretend to be of royal blood, and consider themselves inferior to no man. They are very shy in their intercourse with strangers; but those who gain confidence are well received and hospitably entertained on the roots and fruits which form their ordinary food. Usually when they see a stranger approaching, they run away and hide in the jungle. They have a dialect of their own, which is not intelligible to outsiders, and this

language is always spoken by the women and children. Most of the adult males are able to communicate with strangers in rude *Pahâri* Hindi. They are constantly on the move in search of jungle produce of various kinds; and it is only recently that they have begun to settle down and have taken to a rude form of cultivation in which they burn down scrub jungle and sow the seed in the ashes. This is the *dahya* cultivation of the Central Indian Plateau. At present one of their chief industries is the making of rude vessels out of the wood of the *genti* tree; these they exchange in the villages bordering on the jungle for scraps of coarse cloth and grain. When they acquire any grain by barter in this way or by cultivation, they hide it away in caves or tie it up in leaves and hang it from the branches of trees. Meanwhile, they live on any roots and fruits they can secure, and return to their grain stores only when pressed by extreme hunger. Some roots and fruits they hide away in caves for use in time of need. Their cultivation has hitherto been of the most casual and careless kind; but in recent years they have been helped by Government to obtain cattle and implements, and the younger generation show signs of taking more steadily to cultivation than their forefathers. The bride-price is almost invariably paid in coarse earthen or wooden vessels and implements for digging jungle roots.

15. From this account they appear to be in about the same stage of culture as the Korwas of Mirzapur.

2. Râjkumâr (Sanskrit *râja kumâra*, "a prince").—A sept of Râjputs in Oudh and the Eastern Districts. The term Râjkumâr is commonly applied to the junior branches of all houses in which a Râj exists, and thus there are Râjkumâr Bais, Râjkumâr Kâuhpuriya, and Râjkumâr Bachgoti. It is to the last of these that the term is most generally applied, and the only explanation suggested of their appropriation of the title is that it is to distinguish them from their brethren the Rajwârs, who could once pride themselves on their chief being a Râja. With them alone the distinction has superseded the broader appellation of the clan.¹ The clan to which Bariyâr Sinh, the common ancestor, belonged, has now five branches, from which circumstance it is likened to the five fingers of a man's hand; these are the Chauhân, the Râjkumâr, the Rajwâr, the

¹ *Sultânpur Settlement Report*, 152.

Bachgoti, and the Khānzāda.¹ The Rāj Kumārs, through Bariyār Sinh, claim direct descent from Rāja Kundh Rāj, brother of Prithivi Rāja of Delhi. Opinions are divided as to the birth-place of Bariyār Sinh. Some fix it at Sambhal near Morādābād; some at Sāmbar in Ajmer. By one account his emigration was due to the defeat of the Delhi Chauhāns; by another story his father, who had already twenty-two sons, married a young bride and she insisted that her son should succeed to the title; so Bariyār Sinh and his brothers were driven to go abroad and seek their fortunes. The chief families of the sept are Dera, Meopur, Nānau, and Pāras Patti. The history and traditions of the sept have been elaborately illustrated by Mr. Carnegy. One of the earliest accounts of Rājput infanticide referred to the Rāj Kumārs.²

2. In Sultānpur it is reported that they take brides from the Bilkhariya, Tashaiya, Chandaurya, Kath Bais, Bhālê Sultān, Raghubansi, and Gargbansi; and give girls to the Tilokchandi Bais, Mainpuri Chauhāns, Sūrajbansi of Māhul, Gautams of Nagar, Bisens of Majhauī, Kānhpuriya, Gahlot, and Sombansi. Their *gotra* is said to be Vatsya. In Jaunpur it is said that they take brides from the Raghubansi, Bais, Chaupat Khamh, Nikumbh, Dhanmast, Gautam, Gaharwār, Bisen, Panwār, Chandel, Saunak, Drigbansi; and give girls to the Kalhans, Sirnet, Gautam, Sūrajbansi, Bachgoti, Rajwār, Bisen, Kānhpuriya, Gaharwār, Baghel, and Bais.

Distribution of the Rāj Kumār Rājputs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Mathura	199	Bānda	2
Agra	4	Allahābād	216
Farrukhābād	2	Jhānsi	11
Morādābād	27	Benares	199
Pilibhīt	1	Mirzapur	115
Cawnpur	12	Jaunpur	5,745
Fatehpur	4	Ghāzipur	38

¹ *Faizābād Settlement Report*, 129; *Elliot. Chronicles of Undo*, 48.

² *Asiatic Researches*, IV, 340; *Calcutta Review*, I, 377.

Distribution of the Râjkumâr Râjputs according to the Census of 1891—condensed.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Ballia	6	Sitapur	2
Gorakhpur	285	Faizâbâd	1,575
Basti	337	Gonda	10
Azamgarh	212	Bahrâich	23
Lucknow	29	Sultânpur	15,299
Unâo	8	Partâbgarh	123
Râc Bareli	219	Rârabanki	61
		TOTAL	24,764

Râjput (Sanskrit *râji-putra*, "son of a king").—The warrior and land owning race of Northern India, who are also known as Thâkur, "lord" (Sanskrit *thâkkura*), or Chhatri, the modern representative of the ancient Kshatriya. All or most of the Râjput tribes in these Provinces have legendary accounts of their origin from the country known as Rajwâra, Rajasthân or Rajputâna. As General Cunningham writes ¹:—"The term Rajputâna is at present restricted to the States lying between the Jumna and Narbada, of which the Jumna forms the eastern boundary; but previous to the Mahratta conquest it really extended from the Satlaj on the west to the Chhota Sindh River of Mârwar on the east.

2. "Within these limits the old States of Rajputâna may be conveniently divided into three large groups according to their relative positions, as Western, Eastern, and Southern.

3. "Western Rajputâna including the Râthaur States of Bikâner and Mârwar; the Jâdon-Bhatti State of Jâysalmer; the Kaachh-wâha States of Jaypur and Shaikhâwati; and the Chauhân State of Ajmer.

4. "Eastern Rajputâna would include the present Narûka-Kachh-wâha State of Alwar; the Jât States of Bharatpur and Dholpur; the Jâdon State of Karauli; the British Districts of Gurgâon, Mathura, and Agra; and the whole of the Northern Districts of Gwâlîor, which still bear the names of their old Râjput proprietors,

¹ *Archæological Reports*, XX, 1, sqq.

as Jādonwati, Tomargār, Kachhwāhagār, Bhadaurgār, and Khichi-wāra.

5. "Southern Rajputāna including the two Chauhān States of Bundi and Kotah, with the whole of Mewār and Mālwa.

6. "In ancient times the whole country lying between the Arvali Hills of Alwar and the Jumna was divided between Matsya on the west and Surasena on the east, with Dasūrana on the south and south-west border. Matsya included the whole of the present Alwar territory, with portions of Jaypur and Bharatpur. Bairāt and Muchāri were both in Matsyadesa; while Karnān, Mathura, and Bayāna were all in Surasena. To the east was Panchāla, including the Antarveda and Rohilkhand. The Surasenas were Yadavas or Yaduvansis. A large portion of their old country is still in the possession of the Jādon Rāja of Karauli. Their chief towns were Methora and Kleisobaras, Mathura and Krishnapura. The Yadavas first succumbed to the great Maurya dynasty of Magadha, and were afterwards overwhelmed by the Indo-Scythians under the Satrap Rajubul and his son Saudāsa. It next fell under the Gupta dynasty, the power of which was broken by the death of Skanda Gupta in 319 A.D. At the time of Hwen Thsang's visit in 635 A.D., the King of Mathura was a Sūdra, but a few centuries later the Jādon Rājputs were in full possession of both Bayāna and Mathura. Nearly the whole of Eastern Rajputāna, therefore, belonged to the Yaduvansi or Jādon Rājputs. They held one-half of Alwar with the whole of Bharatpur, Karauli, and Dholpur, besides the British Districts of Gurgāon, Mathura, and the greater part of Agra west of the Jumna. It seems possible also that they may have held some portions of the present Gwālīor territory, lying along the Chambal River, opposite Karauli."

7. It was on the death of Harsu Vardhhana, the famous king of Kanauj, who reigned from 607 to 650 A.D., that most of the Rājput families would seem to have risen to power. The Tomaras of Delhi, the Chandelas of Khajuraho, and Sisodiyas of Chithor, as well as the Kachhwāhas of Narwar and Gwālīor, all begin their genealogies from that time. As far as the eastern part of the Province is concerned, Sir C. Elliott¹ suggests that the amount of pressure from the Muham-madan invaders determined the character of the Rājput colonisation.

¹ *Archæological Reports*, II, 311.

² *Chronicles of Undo*, 28, sq.

The Chauhâns are scattered over a wide extent of country and broken up into many small estates, while the powerful Gahlots of Chithor and Kachhwâhas of Amber maintained their independence for three centuries more and threw out hardly any colonies. The Oudh Râjputs may be divided into three great classes : the Bisen, Gaharwâr, and Chandel were settled in the pre-historic period ; the Gautam, Janwâr, Chauhân, Raikwâr, Dikhit, and Sakarwâr emigrated after the incursion of Shahâb-ud-dîn Ghori at the close of the twelfth century ; the Gahlot, Sengar, Panwâr, Gaur, and Parihâr came after the establishment of the Muhammadan power ; the Râwat and Mahror are indigenous to Unâo and are not found elsewhere. According to the Ghâzipur traditions, only from fifteen to thirty generations have elapsed since the first advent of their forefathers. Except the Hayobans and Kinwâr septs, all the tribes name places in the north, north-west, or west as the homes of their race. Malwâ, Bundelkhand, the Ganges-Jumna Duâb, the country beyond the Jumna from Agra to Delhi, Oudh, and the country beyond the Ghâgra, all are named as the old home of tribes now found in Ghâzipur.¹ The Oudh septs which claim an extra-provincial origin, trace their descent to single Chhatri leaders and not to troops of Râjput invaders. Such are the Bais of Baiswâra, who claim descent from Tilokchand, who came from the Central Provinces, and the Râjkumârs, from Bariyâr Sinh Chauhân of Mainpuri, through whom they claim kindred with Prithivi Râja of Delhi. With these exceptions none of the clansmen of Eastern Oudh claim Western origin.²

8. The traditions of the septs, which have been separately referred to, exemplify the fact that many of them are probably connected closely with the aboriginal races, and that there are grave grounds for suspecting the purity of their descent. Thus the Kânpuriya and Bandhilgoti septs are traditionally descended from misalliances between two Brâhman brothers and women of the Ahîr and Dharkâr castes. The Chamar Gaur are supposed to be descended from a Chamâr father and a Gaur woman. Within the memory of man an Amethiya chieftain has, according to General Sleeman, taken to wife the daughter of an *ex-Pâsi* village watchman and raised up orthodox seed unto himself. The Râotârs, another

¹ Oldham, *Memo.*, I, 45.

² Carnegy, *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1876.

numerous clan, have the same traditional parentage (Brāhman-Ahīr) as the Kānpuriyas. They are said to take their name from Rāwat, an Ahīr chief. The Palwārs are alleged to be descended from a common ancestor who had four wives, of whom only one was of his own status, the others being of the Bhar, Ahīr, or other lower castes. The Bhālê Sultān are in some way akin to Ahīrs, and there is a lower grade of the Bais with whom the real Tilokchandi branch will not intermarry.¹ The same process of the adoption into the Rājput body is still going on in the case of the Khasiyas of the lower Himalayan range and along the Vindhya, as in the case of the Singrauli Rāja in South Mirzapur, who has in quite modern times developed from a Dravidian Kharwār into a Benbans Chhatri. Under the head of Jāt will be found some considerations which lead to the belief that they are ethnologically identical with the Rājputs.

9. This process of corruption is aided by the results of infanticide. The difficulty among some septs of procuring wives has led to the introduction of low caste girls in the guise of high-born brides into many Rājput families. In many places a regular trade has arisen with the object of supplying girls of this kind. In some cases doubtless the husband is the victim of a deliberate fraud on the part of the match-maker or go-between; but in numerous instances there seems little doubt that the arrangement has the sanction of tribal custom; and even when a man finds that he has been induced to receive a low-born girl as his wife, the dread of a scandal prevents him from giving publicity to the matter.

10. Rājputs are endogamous and the septs are exogamous. As will be seen from the rules of intermarriage given in the separate articles on these septs, they practice what Mr. Ibbetson calls hypergamy, by which he means the rule according to which a Rājput prefers, if possible, to marry his daughter in a sept of higher rank than his own, while he will take a bride for his son from a sept of inferior social status. One form of this is embodied in the formula—*Beti pūrab, larka pachehham*, that is to say, a girl may be married to the eastern or inferior septs, while the son must seek a bride among the blue-blooded septs of the west; like the Mainpuri Chauhāns or the Rāthāurs. Many Rājput youths, owing to the scarcity of girls, the result of infanticide, do not marry at all, and

¹ Carnegy, loc. cit.

form temporary connections with women of the low wandering tribes, such as Nāts, Kanjars, Beriys, and the like. There has thus grown up in many of the septs two classes of different social rank: one the offspring of wives of legitimate descent, married in the orthodox way; the other the descendants of irregular connections with low caste women. Such people, as a rule, if they marry at all, marry in their own grade, and, unless they are wealthy, find it impossible to procure brides of unequivocal ancestry. It is needless to say that this connection of Rājput youths with women of these criminal races is a fertile source of crime. Gypsy gangs hang round Rājput villages and are supported and protected. During recent epidemics of violent crime in these Provinces, it has always been found that the dacoit bands were largely recruited from these half-bred Rājputs and their criminal associates.

11. The country legends abound with instances of the conflict between the Rājput and the Brāhman in pre-historic times. As a survival of this it may be noted that, in Bundelkhand, Brāhmins will not allow the navel string (*nāra*) of Rājput children to be buried in their villages lest the latter tribe may some day supplant and dispossess them.¹

Distribution of Rājputs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	Aryas.	Jainas	Sikhs.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dūn . .	46,065	677	131	...	3	46,876
Sahāranpur . .	37,806	21,089	59	...	56	59,010
Musaḥarnagar . .	21,911	20,526	82	...	...	42,519
Meerūt . .	60,954	30,656	215	1	13	91,839
Bulandshahr . .	84,351	31,406	1,585	...	...	117,342
Aligarh . .	77,856	808	188	...	2	78,854
Mathura . .	59,005	8,040	31	355	14	67,445
Agra . .	93,232	5,501	82	73	67	98,955
Farrukhābād . .	58,802	1,697	92	...	...	59,591

¹ Elliot, *Supplemental Glossary*, s.v. *Athmana*.

Distribution of Rajputs according to the Census of 1891—contd.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	Aryas.	Jainas.	Sikhs.	TOTAL.
Mainpuri . .	53,175	329	46	...	...	53,550
Etawah . .	54,743	522	52	...	3	55,320
Etah . .	60,036	4,911	236	...	...	65,183
Bareilly . .	35,013	6,358	5	...	24	41,400
Bijnor . .	84,183	3,265	79	...	...	87,527
Budhan . .	60,999	5,636	152	...	5	66,792
Moradabad . .	59,065	8,194	182	...	6	77,447
Shahjahanpur . .	64,503	3,596	59	...	...	68,158
Pilibhit . .	10,078	950	159	...	...	111,187
Cawnpur . .	88,031	785	121	...	...	88,937
Fatehpur . .	44,830	6,141	...	...	...	50,971
Banda . .	51,926	1,653	...	2	8	53,589
Hamirpur . .	35,085	457	...	...	...	35,542
Allahabad . .	53,131	2,173	...	...	...	55,304
Jhansi . .	18,075	146	23	...	18	18,262
Jalaun . .	35,155	328	...	...	...	35,483
Lalitpur . .	15,887	39	...	...	...	15,926
Benares . .	51,203	1,446	...	...	...	52,649
Mirzapur . .	63,171	210	...	...	147	63,528
Jaunpur . .	112,242	3,903	...	...	...	116,145
Ghazipur . .	85,406	13,746	43	...	2	99,197
Ballia . .	139,194	1,385	...	...	...	140,579
Gorakhpur . .	97,487	10,833	...	...	1	98,321
Basti . .	50,938	39,465	...	...	...	90,403
Azamgarh . .	130,168	15,405	...	...	...	145,573
Kumaun . .	255,536	...	...	...	...	255,536
Garhwal . .	231,953	...	...	...	...	231,953

Distribution of Rājputs according to the Census of 1891—continued.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	Aryas.	Jainas.	Sikhs.	TOTAL.
Tarāi . . .	16,557	536	5	...	...	17,098
Lucknow . . .	26,565	1,808	28	...	119	28,020
Unāo . . .	60,766	2,028	26	...	28	62,848
Rāē Bareli . . .	69,664	7,757	...	...	6	77,427
Sitapur . . .	37,693	9,057	...	...	10	37,760
Hardoi . . .	79,865	2,283	...	...	...	81,648
Kheri . . .	26,261	11,887	23	...	...	38,271
Faizābād . . .	68,880	11,662	...	...	10	80,552
Gonda . . .	61,361	27,431	...	...	...	88,792
Bahrāich . . .	23,462	11,812	6	...	290	35,570
Sultānpur . . .	88,547	25,497	...	...	...	114,044
Partābgarh . . .	61,487	4,795	...	...	...	66,282
Bārabanki . . .	40,515	7,504	...	...	17	48,036
TOTAL . . .	3,251,418	375,833	3,710	431	849	3,632,241

Ramaiya¹ (Sanskrit *ram*, Hindi *ramna*, "to wander").—A pedlar class found in small numbers to the west of the Province. The Ramaiya of the east of the Panjāb is the Bhātra, under another name. "The Bhātra claims Brāhman origin, and his claim would appear to be good, for he wears the sacred thread, applies the *tilak*, or forehead mark, and receives offerings at eclipses in that capacity. He is probably a low class of Gujarāti or Dakaut Brāhman, and, like them, practises as an astrologer in a small way. The Bhātras of Gujarāt are said to trace their origin to the south beyond Multān. The Bhātras hawk small hardware for sale, tell fortunes, and play on the native guitar, but do not beg for alms."² The Ramaiya of these Provinces, who is a pedlar and beggar, is properly a Sikh; but he is now so thoroughly domiciled here that it is difficult to

¹ Mainly based on notes by Pandit Janardan Dat Joshi, Deputy Collector, Bareilly.

² Ibbetson, *Panjāb Ethnography*, para 552.

distinguish him from other Hindus. Begging is recognized by him as an honourable profession, and a Ramaiya who is rich will have no hesitation in marrying his daughter to another Ramaiya who gains his living by begging. They trace their origin to Amritsar, and say they first began to come into these Provinces about four generations ago. Some of the wealthier members of the caste in Bijnor still draw their Brâhman, their priests, or barbers, from the Panjâb. Some of them say that they are the direct descendants of the Guru Govind Sinh.

2. Their sections, as given in the Census returns, indicate that they are a very mixed race and made up of elements foreign to the races of these Provinces. Of the Hindu branch we find Bamra, Bank, Barsari, Bhalira, Bhât, Bhatti, Bisâti, Dargal, Gajra, Gaur, Gûjar, Gujarân, Hardoiri, Kathak, Nomâin, Râdi, Râê, Rânipâri, Râthaur, Sinha, and Siphmatua; of the Muhammadan branch, Banjâra, Râjput, Ramai.

3. The tribal council (*panchâyat*) includes representatives from every family in the village, and is under a headman (*chaudhârî*). The office is permanent and is conferred on the richest and most influential man in the community.

4. The rule of exogamy is that a man must marry in a *gotra* different from his own, and avoid connections with near relatives on the female side, such as the daughter of his sister or aunt. He may not have two sisters to wife at the same time, but there is no rule against his marrying the younger sister of his late wife. They very seldom marry more than one wife, and then only with the object of getting an heir. Girls are married from five to ten years of age; it is exceptional for a girl not to be married till fifteen, and the richer the family is the greater tendency there is towards infant marriage. The bride gets presents of jewelry from both sides, but there is no bride price paid. There is no formal divorce, but a wife detected in adultery is turned out of the house. Widows are married by the form known as *kâj*, *kâj*, of which the feast to the clansmen is the most important part. The levirate is allowed if the younger brother of the late husband is himself unmarried. She has power to marry an outsider if her brother-in-law does not claim her.

5. The woman is attended by some elderly woman of the family, or by a *dâi*, or professional midwife, if she be procurable. At the birth of a son,

charity is distributed to Brâhmans and to the poor, and the child is named by the Brâhman on the eleventh day.

6. The betrothal is marked by the distribution of some coarse sugar to the clansmen by the father of the bridegroom, and then the engagement is announced. The binding portion of the marriage ceremony is the walking of the pair seven times round the sacred fire.

7. They burn their dead. The ashes are thrown into some river and some of the fragments of the bone are kept to be consigned to the Ganges. The corpse is tied on a bier, a *pinda* is offered, some gold is put in the mouth, and with an appeal for aid to Guru Govind and the words *Râm ! Râm !* it is cremated. They do not perform the regular *śrāddha* ; on the third day (*tījā*), the clansmen bathe and eat at the house of the deceased ; they are regarded as impure by their neighbours until this ceremony is done. On the tenth day, the Brâhman is given food, clothes, bedding, and other necessities for the use of the spirit in the other world. This ceremony is repeated on the first anniversary of the death, and after this nothing more is done. On the last day of the Kanâgat fortnight, they place food on the house roof for the use of the deceased ancestors. A little water is then sprinkled, and the Ramaiya with folded hands invokes the spirits of the departed, and first of all that of Guru Govind. Those who make the pilgrimage to Gaya, even once in their lives, omit this ceremony. The invocation and all the prayers are in Hindustâni. They call this the *śrāddha* ; but of course it does not conform to the regular ritual. They employ Brâhmans as their priests, but consider it more meritorious to give charity to the son of a sister or daughter than to a Brâhman.

8. By religion they are Sikhs, and particularly respect the Guru and the Grantha. But they also worship the ordinary Hindu deities, such as Ganesa, Devi, Siva, and Bhûmiya. They visit the Sikh temples at Patna, Amritsar, Dehra Dûn, and Nânakmatha, of which the last is the favourite. The married pair after the ceremony go to the temple of Bhûmiya and make an obeisance. They also worship snakes, like ordinary Hindus, and respect the *pîpal* tree. Some visit the tomb of Guru Râm Rââ in the fair during the month of Bhâdon. Their temple is known as Dharmśâla or Nânakshâhi Dharmśâla. It bears the flag of the Guru, and contains the holy book known as the Granth Sâhib. During the Dasahra they hold a festival known as

the Parva, when they assemble at the Dharmasāla to hear the Granth Sāhib read. The praises of the Guru are recited, and some *halwa* if purchased with the contributions of those present, is distributed. The most binding oath is by the Granth Sāhib, and then by the Guru; in ordinary cases the oath is taken by Ganesa or one of the ordinary Hindu deities. Women are not allowed to visit the Dharmasāla.

9. They eat no food forbidden to ordinary high caste Hindus.

Social rules.

When they eat they throw a little food into the fire in the name of the Guru. Their salutation is *Wah Guruji ki fateh*, "Victory to the Guru." When inferiors salute superiors, they say *Matha teko*, "I lay my forehead at your feet." They will not eat *kachchi* prepared by any one but a casteman, not even by a Brāhman. *Pakki* can be eaten if cooked by any Hindu of respectable caste.

10. They live by petty trading and begging. Those who are

Occupation.

pedlars sell coral beads and medicines. Those who beg, have a sort of picture (*patta*) representing the gods and the various hells. One important part of it is a drawing of a miser dragging a chain in hell, which they show to people to stimulate them to give alms. They do not appear to rob or steal at home, but in more distant parts of the country their conduct is not free from suspicion, and some are notorious swindlers.

11. To this may be added the following account of the tribe by Mr. F. S. Bullock, C. S.:¹—"The Ramaiyas have been for years past settled down in the Bijnor District in the Chāndpur and Dhāmpur Tahsils. Altogether they are found in thirty-five or forty villages, but chiefly in large groups in the villages of Nūrpur, Rohunagli, Nahilpur, and Harupur. I believe this to be the only district in India in which they have settled down in any number; but they live in a few villages in the Panjāb, *viz.*, in Delhi, Amritsar, and Patiyāla, one village (Chilkhāna) in Sahāranpur, two villages (Chāndpur and Soron) in Aligarh, and Bettiah and Bhāgalpur in Bengal. They are pedlars by profession, and sell precious stones and *borwāla* goods, such as mirrors, combs, soap, candles, and stones. They call themselves Sikhs by religion, and they worship Guru Nānak, and

¹ North-West Provinces Census Report, 1891, I, 322.

say they came from the Panjâb. Some shave their heads, and some do not. In fact they seem to have two sects, and account for it thus :—Guru Nânak had two sons : Srichand, who founded the Sâdhu Branch; and Lakshmi Dâs, who founded the Sikh Branch. The descendants of Srichand shave and look like Hindus, but they are a drunken lot, eat meat, but do not worship the cow. They travel all over India, chiefly in the Dakkhin, while the Sikhs travel chiefly in the Panjâb. The small number of males as compared with females in Bijnor is accounted for by the fact that the males travel about and earn their living, while the women stay at home. They do not cultivate, but are well off and earn large sums by peddling goods.”

Distribution of the Ramaiyas according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.					Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dûn	.	.	.	.	4	...	4
Sahâranpur	.	.	.	.	156	...	156
Muzaffarnagar	.	.	.	.	95	158	253
Meerut	.	.	.	.	308	...	308
Bulandshahr	.	.	.	.	4	...	4
Bareilly	.	.	.	.	53	...	53
Bijnor	.	.	.	.	2,980	...	2,980
Morâdâbâd	.	.	.	.	58	...	58
Pilibhît	.	.	.	.	21	...	21
Târai	.	.	.	.	86	...	86
TOTAL					3,765	158	3,923
Males					1,372		
Females					2,993		

Rânghar, Rângar.—A sept of Muhammadan Râjputs principally found in the Upper Ganges-Jumna Duâb. According to Colonel Tod¹ the word is derived from *rana*, “strife,” in the sense of “turbulent;” but this is very doubtful. Mr. Ibbetson² says :—

¹ *Annals*, I, 487.

² *Panjâb Ethnography*, para. 446; *Census Report, North-Western Provinces*, 1865, I, Appendix 8

"Rângar is a term sometimes contemptuously applied in the Eastern and South-Eastern Districts of the Panjâb to any Musalmân Râjput I am told, however, that in Fîrozpur and Gurdâspur, there are small Râjput colonies known only by this name; and, if so, it is probable that they have emigrated from the Delhi territory If a Hindu Chauhân Râjput become a Musalmân to-morrow, he would be called a Chauhân Râjput by both himself and his neighbours of both religions, but his Hindu brethren would call him Rânghar, which he would resent as only slightly less abusive than *chotîkat*, a term of contempt applied to those who have, on conversion to Islâm, cut off the *choti* or Hindu scalp lock."

2. The Bhatti or Jaiswâi Râjputs of Bulandshahî claim descent from Râja Dahip, son of Jaswant Râo, of Nânamau near Bithûi in the Cawnpur District. He is said to have had two sons named Bhatti and Rânghar. The descendants of the latter were converted in the time of the Sultân Qutb-ud dîn and Alâ-ud-dîn, and were called Rânghars after their eponymous ancestor.¹

3 Again, according to Sir H. M. Elliot,² many of the Kankariya and Naigâmya Ahîrs have been converted to Islâm and are known as Rânghars In the Dûn they are said to be descendants of strangers of Pundî extraction from Sahâranpur, who gained a footing during the decline of the Gairhwâl kingdom. There are very few of them, and they are being gradually absorbed by marriage with hill women³ In Haryâna their sections are said to be Jât, Satiola, and Raghu⁴ The sept, in fact, seems to be a sort of cave of Adullam for out-castes of various tribes.

4 The Ranghars have always borne an evil reputation for turbulence This is shown by the many proverbs concerning them — *Gujar, Ranghar, do; kutta, billi, do, ye châr na ho; to khulî kuddî so* "The Gûjar and the Rânghar are a pair, so are the dog and the cat, if it were not for these four, you might sleep with open doors" Another says — *Yâr Dom ne kîya Rângharya, aur-na dekhâ assa harya*. "A minstrel made friends with a Rânghar and found no worse thief than he"

¹ Census Report, North-Western Provinces, 1865, I, Appendix 16.

² Supplemental Glossary, s v Ahîr

³ Williams, Memo, 27

⁴ Indian, Antiquary, VI, 341, Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1868.

Distribution of the Rânghars according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Dehra Dûn . . .	138	Bijnor . . .	2,256
Sahâranpur . . .	368	Pilibhât . . .	168
Muzaffarnagar . . .	1,174	Cawnpur . . .	2
Meerut . . .	2	Jhânsi . . .	7
Bulandshahr . . .	21	Lalitpur . . .	5
Mathura . . .	5	Tarâi . . .	166
Agra . . .	44	Lucknow . . .	23
Mainpuri . . .	16	Unâo . . .	2
Etah . . .	4		
		TOTAL .	4,401

Rangrez¹ (*Rang* = "colour;" *rez*, *rekhtan* = "pouring").—The dyer caste. The Census returns show in the Hindu Branch, which is very scantily represented in the Provinces, as one sub-caste—Hârâl. There are 81 sections of the Muhammadan Branch, which are of the usual type,—some territorial, like Desi, Deswâla, Gaur, Multâni; others occupational or connected with other tribes or castes, such as Bhât, Chandelwâl, Chauhân, Ghosi, Guâl Pathân, Kamângar, Khatri, Quraishi, Nîlgar, Pathân, Shaikh, Sadiqi, and Usmâni. In Mirzapur there are three endogamous sub-divisions: Rangrez, Mauâlê (who take their name from the town of Mau in Azamgarh), and Mârwâri Rangrez. Each of these again is broken up into a Pathân and Shaikh sept, which are also endogamous. They appear to aim at the full prohibited degree of Islâm,² but practically only sisters' daughters are excluded. Religious differences are so far regarded that a Sunni cannot marry a Shiah. All marriages are local, and are contracted with those families with which they have been accustomed to eat and smoke. They believe themselves to be descendants of one Khwâja Bali, who was a very pious man, about whom the following verse is current:—*Khwâja*

¹ It is really a Hindustâni corruption of Persian Rangraz—*Atn-i-Abbâri*, Blochmann, I, 307.

² *Qurân*, Sûrah, IV, 26, 27.

Bali Rangrez Rangé Khuda ki ses : "Khwāja Bali dyes the bed of God."

2. They do not admit outsiders into the caste; if any one happen to be admitted, he cannot be married in the caste. Marriage takes place at the age of ten or twelve; and polygamy is allowed. Marriage is by three forms : *Charhauwa*, when the bridegroom goes in procession and marries the bride at her house; *Dola*, used by poor people, when the bride is brought home quietly and married at the house of the bridegroom; *Sagdi*, for widows. The binding portion of the ceremony is, in all cases, the recital of the *Sharah*. A widow can marry her deceased husband's younger brother or an outsider; the levirate does not seem to be enforced. A man can divorce his wife for adultery, and a wife, her husband, if he is converted to another religion. All divorce is by leave of the tribal council. Divorced women can remarry, but there is a prejudice against it, and the friends of such a woman have to make it worth the man's while to take her over.

3. They are mostly Sunni Muhammadans, and their tribal deities are Ghāzi Miyān and the Pānchon Pīr. Religion. They are worshipped jointly on the first Sunday in Jeth with offerings of parched barley flour (*sattu*), cucumber (*kakri*), melon (*kharbūza*), and sweetmeats. Ghāzi Miyān is also worshipped after marriages with an offering of boiled rice, curds, and a fowl. This offering is known as *kandūri*.¹ With Ghāzi Miyān the Pānchon Pīr are also worshipped with an offering of sweetmeats and garlands of flowers. They bury their dead in a graveyard in the usual Muhammadan fashion, and at the festivals of the 'Id and Shab-i-bārāt make offerings of vermicelli (*vinuiyan*, *senwai*), milk, and *halwa* sweetmeats to the spirits of deceased ancestors. They also offer them bread and meat at the festival of the Baqar-'Id.

4. Their trade is dyeing cloth; the process has been very fully described by Mr. Hoey.² Owing to foreign competition the trade has become much reduced in recent years, and many of them

¹ *Kandūri* or *sahnak* is properly the term used for a special worship of Fātima, the daughter of the Prophet, by the most virtuous women. No male is ever allowed to see the food cooked as an offering on this occasion.

² *Monograph on Trades and Manufactures*, 165, sqq.

have now taken to agriculture and petty shopkeeping. Their women are reputed chaste. They indulge in liquor, but secretly, and the practice is reprobated. They eat the flesh of goats, sheep, cows, buffaloes, camels, and fowls, and all fish except the fresh water shark (*gūnch*). All Muhammadans eat and smoke with them. The women will not eat food touched by Hindus. Only Chamārs and Doms eat their leavings. Their social status is low, and they rank about on a level with Julāhas and other low Musalmān castes.

Distribution of the Rangrez according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dūn	48	48
Sahāranpur	1,581	1,581
Muzaffarnagar	4,239	4,239
Meerut	4,919	4,919
Bulandshahr	1,679	1,679
Aligarh	502	502
Mathura	616	616
Agra	878	878
Farrukhābād	667	667
Mainpuri	193	193
Etāwah	519	519
Etah	488	488
Bareilly	1,392	1,392
Bijnor	2,556	2,556
Budāun	515	515
Morādābād	1	1,176	1,177
Shāhjahanpur	805	805
Pilibhīt	495	495
Cawnpur	2	382	384
Fatehpur	356	356

Distribution of the Rangrez according to the Census of 1891—conold.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Bānda	20	20
Hamīrpur	581	581
Alahābād	5	311	316
Jhānsi	133	133
Jālaun	123	123
Lalitpur	81	81
Benares	304	304
Mirzapur	86	86
Jaunpur	481	481
Ghāzipur	543	543
Ballia	762	762
Gorakhpur	1,131	1,131
Basti	231	231
Azamgarh	1,136	1,136
Tarāi	573	573
Lucknow	467	467
Unāo	244	244
Rāe Bareilly	680	680
Sitapur	136	136
Hardoi	193	193
Kheri	467	467
Faizābād	648	648
Gonda	320	320
Bahrāich	198	198
Sultānpur	531	531
Partābgarh	163	163
Bārābanki	586	586
TOTAL	8	35,135	35,143

Rangsâz (*Rang*, "colour," *sâz*, *sâkhtan*, "making").—The caste of painters and varnishers. With the almost entire disappearance of the palanquin their business has reduced; but there is a considerable trade in carriage painting and house painting in the larger cities and towns.

Distribution of the Rangsâz according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Sahâranpur . . . . .	...	245	245
Muzaffarnagar	1	240	241
Meerut . . . . .	...	452	452
Bulandshahr . . . . .	...	28	28
Mathura . . . . .	..	1	1
Farrukhâbâd	17	...	17
Mainpuri	20	15	44
Etâwah . . . . .	...	22	22
Etah . . . . .	...	36	36
Budâun . . . . .	...	6	6
Morâdâbâd . . . . .	...	38	38
Shâhjahânpur	4	22	26
Cawnpur	1	12	13
Fatehpur . . . . .	...	18	18
Hamirpur . . . . .	...	39	39
Allahâbâd . . . . .	...	3	3
Jhânsi . . . . .	...	11	11
Jâlaun . . . . .	...	87	87
Gorakhpur . . . . .	...	24	24
Azamgarh	7	14	21
Unâo . . . . .	...	8	8
Râe Bareilly . . . . .	...	12	12
Sitapur . . . . .	...	7	7

Distribution of the Rangsâz according to the Census of 1891—concl'd.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Hardoi	10	19	29
Gonda . . . . .	...	15	15
Bâhrâich . . . . .	...	8	8
Sultânpur	17	18	35
Partâbgarh	1	...	1
TOTAL	87	1,400	1,487

Rastâogi, Rastaugi.—A sub-caste of Banyas found nearly all over the Province. Those in Oudh have, according to Mr Carnegie, one peculiarity, that their women will not eat food cooked by their husbands. There they are said to have come originally from Amethi, and have three endogamous sub-divisions: Amethi, Indrapati, and Mauhariya. In Mirzapur they name two sub-divisions: Purbîha or Purbiya, "Eastern," and Pachhiwâha, or "Western," which have their boundary at Allahâbâd. It has been found impossible to obtain a complete list of their *gotras* and sections at Mirzapur. Religious differences are a bar to marriage. Thus, those who worship Hardîha Deva or Hardaur Lâla, do not intermarry with the votaries of Mahâbîr or the Pânchon Pîr. The Mirzapur Rastaugis say they came here from Delhi about the time of the Mutiny. They marry between the ages of eight and twelve. Widow marriage is forbidden. They can marry two wives. They are generally initiated into the Râmanandi sect, and their priests are Gaur Brâhmans, who have come with them from the West. The use of meat and spirits is forbidden.

2. In Mirzapur they generally keep shops for the sale of cloth (*bazzârî*) and brass vessels. "In Lucknow,"

Occupation. according to Mr. Hoey,¹ "there are two special classes of money-lending by the account-book (*bâkî*), practised chiefly by Rastaugis: *augahî* and *rotahî*. *Augahî* is lending of money to be repaid with interest at 20 per cent. in monthly instalments. Thus, if a Rastaugi lends on the 1st January ₹10, he receives one rupee on the first of each month for twelve months, and thereby realises ₹12, of which ₹2 are interest. A Ras-

¹ *Monograph*, 144.

taugi's *augahi bahi* is a curiosity. It is ruled like a chess-board, but has twelve columns. As each month's instalment is realized, it is entered in a square until the twelve squares are filled. He generally also keeps a separate *bahi* in which the principal is noted when lent. It may, however, be noted in the margin of his check-pattern account. *Rozahi* is money lent to be realized in daily instalments with interest at 25 per cent. Thus, if a rupee be lent, one half anna (*taka roz*) will be realized daily. The account of this money is kept in a similar way, but the account-book will be ruled in lines of forty squares. A Rastaugi keeps his accounts by locality; that is, he has several 'fields' (*khet*). Debtors are called *asdm*, and the amount to be collected is 'rent' (*lagān*). A separate set of account-books is kept up for each *khet*, and a servant (generally a Brâhman) is employed to collect at each *khet*."

Distribution of Rastâogi Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Sahâranpur	8	Jhânsi	1
Muzaffarnagar . . .	107	Jâlaun	3
Meerut	3,109	Benares	888
Bulandshahr	799	Mirzapur	97
Agra	22	Ghâzipur	442
Farrukhâbâd	814	Ballia	1
Etâwah	1	Gorakhpur	167
Etah	37	Basti	496
Bijnor	554	Azamgarh	420
Budâun	892	Tarâi	100
Morâdâbâd	1,679	Lucknow	1,966
Pilibhît	9	Unâo	1
Cawnpur	292	Râe Bareli	35
Fatehpur	488	Faizâbâd	56
Bânda	91	Gonda	81
Hamirpur	3	Bahrâich	21
Allahâbâd	453	TOTAL	14,133

Râthaur (Sanskrit *râshtrakûta*, "royal house").—A famous sept of Râjputs. Besides that already given, which is probably correct, there are various explanations of their name. According to the tradition current in Mârwar,¹ the family deity of its rulers was, in the Krita Yuga, or first epoch, Mansa Devi; in the Treta Yuga, Râshtra Sena; in the Dwapara Yuga, Pankhâni; and in the present or Kali Yuga, Nâganechi. The legend runs that the authors of the human race were Mâya and Brahma. In the first epoch the female deity was called Mansa as at her desire (*manas*) the world was formed. Then she successively took the names of Pankhâni, "the winged one," and Râshtra Sena, "the falcon of the State." The name arose because the goddess Râshtra Sena gave her blessing (*vara*) on the present Râthaur race. In the present epoch the name of the deity was again changed to Nâganechi, because when Duhâr, the grandson of Sivaji (the original founder of the Râthaur dynasty in Mârwar), succeeded his father as ruler, he went to the Karnâtak, where the Râthaus ruled previous to becoming kings of Mârwar, for the purpose of bringing the image of the goddess to his own land. When the cart containing the image came to the village of Nâgana of Mârwar, the vehicle came to a standstill. Upon this he built a temple for her there, and she took her present name, which means "resident of Nâgana." The same story is told at Mathura of the image of Kesava Deva.² Another derivation of the name of the sept is that they sprang from the spine (*rahi*) of Indra. They are the Oraturæ of Pliny's lists. He notes of them that their king had only ten elephants, though he possessed a strong force of infantry.³

2. The history of the sept begins in 1050 A.D., when they expelled the Tomars from Kanauj, which
 History of the clan. once more became a famous kingdom and the rival of Delhi both in extent and magnificence. Here Jay Chand, the last of the dynasty, celebrated the Aswamedha, or horse sacrifice, and here in open day did Prithivi Râja, the daring Chief of the Chauhâns, carry off the willing daughter of the Râthaur king in spite of the gallant resistance of the Banâphar heroes, Alha and Udal. The war that ensued between Delhi and Kanauj paved

¹ *Rajputâna Gazetteer*, II, 246.

² *Growse, Mathura*, 120.

³ *Indian Antiquary*, VI, 341.

the way to the Muhammadan invasion ; until finally, in 1191 A.D., Muhammad Ghori, after the fall of Delhi, marched on Kanauj and defeated Jay Chand at Benares, where he was drowned in the Ganges. Thus ended the Rāthaur kingdom in the Ganges-Jumna Duāb.¹

3. Subsequent to these events, Sivaji, who was by one account the grandson, and by another the nephew, of Jay Chand, entered Mārwar on a pilgrimage to Dwārika, and halting at the town of Pāli, displayed his valour by routing a body of marauders. The Brāhmans requested his protection, and he established himself there and became the founder of the Rāthaur dynasty of Mārwar. In less than three centuries after their migration from Kanauj the Rāthaus occupied an area of 80,000 square miles. Colonel Tod² estimated their numbers in his time, in spite of the ravages of war and pestilence, at half a million of souls. This estimate must have been much too high. The Census of 1891 shows the total Rāthaur population of Rajputāna to be 173,909, of whom 86,858 are in Mārwar. The Mughal Emperors owed half their conquests to the one hundred thousand Rāthaus (*lākh talwār Rāthaurān*) who served under them. In Bikāner³ they have fewer prejudices than their more Eastern brethren: they will eat food without enquiring by whom it was dressed, and will drink either wine or water without asking to whom the cup belonged. The opium draught (*piyāla*) is a favourite with every one who can afford it.

4. According to Dr. Hoernle⁴ the so-called Rāthaus were a branch of the Gaharwārs, and it may well be that about the time of Mahipāla a separation occurred in the Gaharwar clan, possibly on religious grounds. For the Pālas professed Buddhism, while the Chandras were Brāhmanists. The secession was marked by the departure of the latter to Kanauj, and by a change in nomenclature—Chandra and Rāthaur for Pāla and Gaharwar. The contempt for the Gaharwārs, alluded to by Colonel Tod, may perhaps be accounted for by their heretical faith in the time of the Pālas. The head of the family in these Provinces is the Rāja of Rāmpur in the Etah

The Rāthaus of the
North-Western Provin-
ces and Oudh.

¹ Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, I, 283.

² *Annals*, II, 24.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 218.

⁴ *Indian Antiquary*, XIV, 98, sq.

District, who claims to be thirty-ninth in descent from Jay Chand. Besides these there are two other families of the genuine Rāthaur in the Central Duāb, those known as the Dhir Sāh ki Sākha and the Khimsipur Rāo family; of the former the Rāja of Kurāoli is the head, but he acknowledges fealty to the Chief of Rāmpur. In Mathura they are represented by the Rāja of Kishngarh, and the Farrukhābād branch claim descent from Parjan Pāl, and through him to Jay Chand. Of the same stock is the Usait family in Budāun. The Eastern branch is of much lower status. In Gorakhpur they do not marry in the higher tribes, and the Azamgarh family allege that they conquered the Rājbhars some nineteen or twenty generations ago.¹

5. In Farrukhābād they claim to belong to the Kasyapa *gotra*. They give girls in marriage to the Bhadauriya, Kachhwāha, and Chauhān, and receive brides from the same septs. In Aligarh they marry Chauhān, Gahlot, Sakarwār, Jangāra, Chandel, Bundela, Dhākrē, Tomar, Pundīr, and Solankhi girls, and give brides to the Gahlot, Pundīr, Sakarwār, Chauhān, and Jangāra septs.

Distribution of the Rāthaur Rājputs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muhammads.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dūn	9	...	9
Sahāranpur	195	16	211
Muzaffarnagar	89	213	302
Meerut	152	...	152
Bulandshahr	242	22	264
Aligarh	1,975	...	1,975
Mathura	339	1	340
Agra	1,529	2	1,531
Farrukhābād	6,815	3	6,818
Mainpuri	3,098	5	3,103
Etāwah	2,025	...	2,025

¹ Mainpuri Settlement Report, 20; Mathura Settlement Report, 35; Farrukhābād Settlement Report, 13; Buchanan, *Eastern India*, II, 458.

Distribution of the Rāthaur Rājputs according to the Census of 1891—contd.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muhamma- dans.	TOTAL.
Etah	6,537	19	6,556
Bareilly	3,002	...	3,002
Bijnor	31	...	31
Budāun	4,215	101	4,316
Morādābād	795	...	795
Shāhjahānpur	5,774	3	5,777
Pilibhīt	928	...	928
Cawnpur	2,417	1	2,418
Fatehpur	328	31	359
Bānda	170	25	195
Hamīrpur	233	...	233
Allahābād	162	...	162
Jhānsi	143	...	143
Jālaun	1,180	...	1,180
Lalitpur	181	...	181
Benares	46	14	60
Mirzapur	48	...	48
Jaunpur	1	...	1
Ghāzipur	121	4	125
Ballia	1,699	...	1,699
Gorakhpur	1,691	...	1,691
Basti	1,135	127	1,262
Amargarh	3,137	82	3,219
Tarāi	129	...	129
Lucknow	204	3	207
Unāo	598	...	598
Rāo Bareli	1,151	1	1,152

Distribution of the Rāthaur Rājputs according to the Census of 1891—conold.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muhamma- dans.	TOTAL.
Sitapur	1,992	103	2,095
Hardoi	3,114	2	3,116
Kheri	3,117	222	3,339
Faizābād	50	...	50
Gonda	438	...	438
Bahrāich	395	38	433
Sultānpur	114	...	114
Partābgarh	131	...	131
Bārabanki	682	...	682
TOTAL .	62,557	1,038	63,595

Rauniyâr, Roniyâr.—A sub-caste of Baniyas confined to the Benares and Gorakhpur Divisions. Mr. Nesfield derives the word from *ravan* in the sense of "crying or hawking wares for sale." Others derive it from *ruuna*, to "shout;" but having regard to the special occupation which they follow, the word may possibly be a corruption of *lavunakāra*, or "a person engaged in the salt trade."

2. In Mirzapur the Rauniyârs have two endogamous sub-divisions: Khariha and Samariha or Sambhariya.

Tribal organization. These they say are descended from two brothers, one of whom dealt in *khāra*, or alkaline salt, and the other in *Sāmbhar*, or the salt which comes from the lake of that name in Rajputāna. A man must marry in his own sub-division, and their rule of exogamy is that a man cannot marry in the family of his maternal uncle, father's sister, his own family or that of his sister, as long as recollection of relationship exists. In Mirzapur they say that they are emigrants from Patna, whence they came some four or five centuries ago. On the contrary the Rauniyârs of Bihâr say that they have come from these Provinces.¹ In Champāran

¹ Bisle, *Tribes and Castes*, II, 198.

they have broken up into two endogamous groups: Chhatri and Samri (who are probably akin to the Samarihas of Mirzapur): the former of whom claim to be Râjputs from the North-West Provinces, who were degraded for intermarrying with women of the Banya caste.

3. Rauniyârs marry at the age of nine or ten. They cannot take a second wife in the lifetime of the first unless she be barren. As in Bengal they make no concealment of the fact that they allow widow marriage.¹

4. Some of them are Saivas, but they appear to prefer the Vaishnava sect. In Mirzapur they employ Sarwariya Brâhmans as their priests, but in Bihâr they say that they are usually served by those of the Sâka-dwîpi tribe.

5. In these Provinces they say that their real business was selling salt, whence they derive their own name and that of their two endogamous groups. But they are very often what is known as *pheriwâlas* or *ladahas* and wander about with bullocks from village to village, collecting grain and other country produce, which they exchange for salt, sugar, etc. They are generally men of small capital.

6. Those who are not initiated into any particular sect use meat and spirits; but there is no drinking allowed at meetings of the tribal council, and if a man is found drunk at such occasions, he is put out of caste. Brâhmans and Kshatriyas in Bihâr are said to eat *pakki* from their hands; but this is not the case in Mirzapur. They will eat *kachchi* cooked by Brâhmans and *pakki* cooked by Halwâis, Brâhmans, and Kshatriyas.

Distribution of the Rauniyâr Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Farrukhâbâd . . .	1	Gorakhpur . . .	4,321
Mirzapur . . .	640	Azamgarh . . .	14
Ghâzipur . . .	474	Gonda . . .	2
Ballia . . .	2,703	TOTAL . . .	8,164

¹ O' Donnel, *Bengal Census Report*, 204.

Rawa.—A caste confined to the Western Districts, who call themselves low Rājputs, and say they came into this part of the country in the time of the Emperor Shāhjahān. The women of this caste procure divorce in a peculiar way. All they have to do is to throw a cowdung cake (*upla*) from outside into the house. Seeing this done, the husband separates finally from his wife without any further formality. They rarely rise above the grade of farm servants.

Distribution of the Rawas according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Muzaffarnagar	6,042
Meerut	8,270
Bijnor	11,139
TOTAL	25,451

Rohtaki.—A sub-caste of Banyas who claim descent from a certain Rāja Rahat, the founder of Rohtāsgarh. The foundation of it is, however, more usually ascribed to Rāja Rohitaswa, the son of Harischandra. They are more probably a local sub-caste deriving their name from the Rohtak District in the Panjāb. They are said to be very careful in religious observances. Rāja Lachhman Sinh¹ says they are numerous in Sayāna in the Bulandshahr District; but the last Census shows none of them in that District.

Distribution of Rohtaki Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Shāhjahānpur	1	Bijnor	835
Muzaffarnagar	118	Morādābād	460
Meerut	4	Pilibhit	1
Agra	29	Lucknow	10
Bareilly	28	TOTAL	1,486

¹ Memo. of Bulandshahr, 168.

Ror.—A small caste of cultivators in the Western Districts. Of their kinsmen in the Panjāb Mr. Ibbetson writes :¹—"The real seat of the Panjāb Rors is in the great *dhāk* jungles south of Thanesar on the borders of the Karnāl and Ambāla Districts, where they hold a *Chaurāsi*, nominally of eighty-four villages, of which the village of Amīn, where the Pāndavas arranged their forces before their last fight with the Kauravas, is their head village. But the Rors have spread down the Western Jumna Canal into the lower parts of Karnāl and into Jīnd in considerable numbers. They are fine stalwart men of very much the same type as the Jāts, whom they almost equal as husbandmen; their women also working in the fields. They are more peaceful and less grasping in their habits than the Jāts, and are consequently readily admitted as tenants, where the latter would be kept at arm's length. Of their origin I can say nothing certain. They have the same story as the Aroras, of their having been Rājputs, who escaped the fury of Parasurāma by stating that their caste was *aur*, or 'another.' The Aroras are often called Roras in the east of the Panjāb; yet I can hardly believe that the frank and stalwart Ror is of the same origin as the Arora. The Amīn men say that they came from Sambhal in Morādābād; but this may be only to connect themselves with their neighbours the Chauhān Rājputs, who certainly came from there. But almost all the Rors seem alike to point to Badli in the Jhajjar Tahsīl of Rohtak as their immediate place of origin, though some of them say they came from Rajputāna. Their social status is identical with that of the Jāts; and they practise *karewa*, or 'widow marriage,' though only, they say, within the caste. Their divisions appear to be exceedingly numerous; some of them are Sagwāl, Maipā, Khichi, and Jogrān."

2. In Sahāranpur the Rors claim to have been created at Kaithal by Sri Krishna in the war of the Mahābhārata. Their marriage ceremonies resemble those of Jāts and Gūjars; they permit widow marriage; and the levirate is practically compulsory. They eat mutton, fish, pork, and venison, and drink spirits. It is said that they will eat *kachchi* and *pakki* and drink and smoke with Jāts and Gūjars.

3. From an account of the Rors of Bijnor supplied by the District Officer, it appears that the tribal tradition of their origin

¹ *Panjāb Ethnography*, section 476.

is that when Râma Chandra severed his connection with Sîta, she was pregnant, and went into the jungle under the protection of the Rishi Vâlmiki. She bore a son there, who was named Lawa, and one day, when she was leaving the house, she put the child in charge of the Rishi. The child followed his mother, and the Rishi missing him, and supposing him to be dead, constructed another child out of a wisp of *kusa* grass. When Sîta returned and saw the other child, she asked what it all meant. The Rishi said, "*roraphora*" (apparently meaning 'this useless thing') "is also your son." Hence they were called Rors.

4. They are supposed to have emigrated to Bijnor some four centuries ago from a place called Fatehpur Pundri in the Karnâl District. Half this village was owned by the Rors, and half by a colony of Sayyids. The Sayyids quarrelled with the Rors, who were forced to emigrate under their leader Mahi Chand. By another story they were originally Tomar Râjputs of Delhi, which they were forced to leave after the conquest of their tribe. By a third account, their emigration from Delhi took place in the time of Aurangzeb.

5. They marry and perform their other family ceremonies in the usual manner common to respectable Hindus. Widows can marry again, and the levirate, though permissible, is not compulsory on the widow. There is no regular form of divorce, but a wife detected in adultery is expelled from the tribe by the decree of the tribal council, and cannot subsequently on payment of a penalty be readmitted to caste rights.

6. Their chief occupation is agriculture, to which they add the making of hemp matting and twine (*tât*, *sutli*).

7. They eat mutton, goats' flesh, and fowls. They will not eat beef, monkeys, or vermin. They will not eat *kachhi* cooked by any caste but their own. They will smoke with Jâts and Gûjars, and eat *pakki* cooked by them or any superior caste.

Distribution of Rors according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Dehra Dûn . . .	3	Etâwah . . .	5
Sahâranpur . . .	3,320	Bijnor . . .	614
Muzaffarnagar . . .	475	Benares . . .	41
Mathura . . .	1		
		TOTAL	4,459

S

Sadgop, Satgop (also known as **Châsa**).—A cultivating caste of Bengal Proper, who are supposed to have separated themselves from the Guâlas by abandoning pastoral pursuits and taking exclusively to agriculture. Mr. Risley has given a full account of the tribe.¹ Those found in these Provinces are only Bengal pilgrims.

Distribution of the Sadgops according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Sahâranpur . . .	6	Allahâbâd . . .	22
Mathura . . .	144	Gorakhpur . . .	2
Etâwah . . .	3	TOTAL .	177

Sâdh—(Sanskrit *śādhu*, “pure, saintlike”).—The word Sâdh ordinarily means nothing more than a Hindu ascetic or devotee; but it is applied in a special sense to a sect of Hindu Unitarians, which had its origin in the Panjâb, but has now widely spread into these Provinces. In the Sambat year 1600 (1543 A.D.) Bîrbhân of Bijesar, near Narnaul, is said to have received a mysterious communication from Udho Dâs, who was a pupil of Râd Dâs, the founder of the Satnâmi sect, of which some account has been given in connection with the Chamârs. To Bîrbhân was communicated the present creed of the Sâdhs. Udho Dâs gave at the same time to Bîrbhân sundry marks by which he might know him at his re-appearance—*First*, that whatever he foretold should happen; *second*, that no shadow should be cast by his figure; *third*, that he would tell him the thoughts of his heart; *fourth*, that he would be suspended between heaven and earth; *fifth*, that he would bring the dead to life.

2. The Sâdhs of these Provinces are known by that name to outsiders, but they generally use the name Satnâmi among themselves. Adults are required to wear a white dress; and ornament and the use of rich apparel of every kind are prohibited. They never wear a cap, but use instead a turban of a peculiar shape. They are enjoined by their religion never to tell a lie and never to take an oath. They are in the same way prohibited from using

¹ *Tribes and Castes*, II, 212.

any kind of intoxicant or any article which borders upon luxury. Wine, opium, *gānja*, *bhang*, betel and tobacco are abominations to them. They have an intense respect for animal life, which extends to even the smallest insect, and the use of any kind of animal food is strictly denounced. They will salute no one but the Divine principle, which they term Sat or "The Truth ;" and when they meet a European or any superior they salute merely by raising the hands to the level of the breast. They detest idolatry and all outward forms of religious belief. They are very reticent about their beliefs, and it is only with the greatest difficulty that it has been possible to obtain a copy, which is probably incomplete, of the book of religious songs (*bāni*) which embody the principles of their faith. All controversy or argument on religious matters with strangers to the sect is repro- bated. Their religious books, known as *pothi*, are written in Bhāsha, or ordinary Hindi, and are not the work of any single author, but contain a number of songs, many of which are taken from the writings of Nānak and Kabīr. These books are read almost daily in their chapel or meeting-house, which is known as *jumlaghar*, or "house of assembly," or *chauki*, "station." The service takes place in the evening, when all members of the sect, male and female, attend. This is their only form of worship.

3. It has been held judicially that the ordinary Hindu law of succession applies to them. The principal
 Regulations of the sect. seats of the sect in this part of India are Delhi, Agra, Jaypur, and Farrukhābād. There is a small colony of them in Mirzapur, who do not appear in the Census returns. They live by calico printing. They deny that there are any caste divisions among them. They are endogamous, and in arranging their marriages they pay no regard to wealth or station. To recognise any distinctions of rank is forbidden, and the only disqualification is the violation of the rules of the sect and the practising of any degrading or sinful occupation. They all eat and drink together, and any jealousy, hatred, or quarrels between the members are considered disgraceful. They appear to have no regular formula of exogamy ; marriage with near relations is forbidden, and they will not marry in a family with which any previous connection by marriage is remembered. They all live together in the same *mukalla*, or "quarter," and are always ready to assist each other and provide for the poor, widows, and orphans of the sect. They are hard-working and industrious ; it is considered disgraceful to be

dependent for support on another; beggary is unknown among them.

4. Children are betrothed in infancy, and marriage is solemnised at the age of twelve, fourteen, or sixteen.

Marriage.

No bride-price is given, but the bride usually receives a dowry. Polygamy is not approved and polyandry is unknown, and the very idea of such an institution is most abhorrent to them. As they all live close together, their betrothals are arranged privately among themselves. When the father of the youth contemplates his marriage with a certain girl, he sends a man or woman of his family as an envoy to the father of the girl. As they have no horoscopes there is none of the almost endless bother which accompanies the preliminaries of a betrothal among respectable Hindus, in order to ascertain if the match is unobjectionable from the astrologer's point of view. If the father of the girl agrees to the proposal of the marriage, he feeds the envoy with sweetmeats or makes him drink some milk, and gives him money. Thus settles the engagement (*mangni pakki*)

5. When the pair reach puberty the marriage day is fixed. The notice of the appointed date is sent by the father of the girl, and on receipt of the message the father of the youth calls a meeting of the members of the sect, to whom the approaching marriage is announced. The envoy is fed and is given a present of a turban and a sheet. During all this time the songs known as Mangal or "rejoicing," of which examples are given below, are sung. From that day begins the usual anointing (*ubtanu*) of the bride and bridegroom. Every day the members of the sect assemble at the meeting-room (*chanki*), and the Mangal is recited. On the wedding day the father of the bride gives a feast to the members of the sect at noon. In the evening the bridegroom, accompanied by his father and friends, goes to the house of the bride, where they are all seated on a white floor-cloth. Opposite them the pair are seated on two cushions. After sitting in this way for a short time, the garments of the bride and bridegroom are knotted together, and both of them move four times round the cushions, while some member of the sect reads the Mangal verses. This constitutes the whole of the marriage service. The binding portion of the service is the revolutions round the cushions of the bride and bridegroom. All then return to the house of the bridegroom, and the bride stays for a short time at the

house of the bridegroom ; she is then escorted home by her brother, and, when it is so arranged, she comes permanently to live with him ; but there is no further ceremony like the Hindu *gauna*.

6. They divorce their wives only when they have committed some offence which renders them liable to excommunication from the sect. In this case

Divorce.

all that is done is to announce the fact before a meeting of the members of the sect. They arrange most of their affairs before a council of the caste, and they very seldom have recourse to the Courts.

7. As already stated, the Sâdhs are Unitarians and worship one God, the Author of the universe, under the name of Satya Guru or Satya Nâm.

Religion.

There is no material representation of Him of any kind. By meditation on Him, and the practice of virtue, they believe that they attain ultimately absorption into the Divinity. Their religion teaches them that they should give alms only in secret, and not to strive after riches or the hoarding of wealth. The following are the rules of the faith :—

(1) "Worship one God, Who is the Creator of all and has power to destroy. None is higher or loftier than He ; and man should not in wantonness worship any stone, metal, wood or tree, or other created thing. Rather, all honour and renown are due to Him. He is the only God and His the only word. Whoever fixes his thoughts on anything near him, errs and sins ; and whoever sins goes to Hell.

(2) Preserve a modest and humble demeanour and fix not your heart on things of this world ; and perfectly carry out the principles of your faith. Do not practise what is contrary to your faith, and this some Sâdhus deny, saying that the order is—"First feed one's own people ; feed no stranger."

(3) Never speak falsely, and curse not the earth, the water, the trees, nor the beasts. Use your tongue only in praise of God, and never spoil any one of his land, wealth, or beasts. Steal not their goods ; be not critical of them or their possessions ; and be content with what you have. Think not upon what is evil ; and cast not your eye upon what is shameless or unlawful, be it man or woman, dance or pastime.

(4) Think not on evil words, but employ yourselves in the

praise and glory of God ; and amuse not yourselves with stories, nor fables, nor singing, nor music, but only with hymns.

(5) Do not greedily desire anything, whether wealth or beauty, and take not what belongs to another. God is the giver of all ; and as you put your trust in Him, so you will receive.

(6) When you are asked " Who are you ? " say, " I am a Sādh." Make no mention of caste, and enter not into controversy. Rely firmly on the strength of your religion ; rest not your pride and hopes on man.

(7) Wear white clothes ; use not antimony, nor belladonna, nor henna. Wear not caste marks, either on the body or forehead. Put on no chaplet, nor Brāhmanical thread, nor jewels.

(8) Eat vegetables, not flesh, nor certain kinds of fish. Eat no betel. Snuff not up sweet perfumes, smoke not, and make no use of opium. Lift not up your hand and bow not your head before any idol or man.

(9) Slay not ; tyrannise over no one ; give no evidence on oath ; take nothing by force.

(10) Let each man have one wife ; and each wife have one husband. A married man should not eat the leavings of his wife ; but a wife should eat what is saved from her husband's food, as is customary ; and the wife should obey her husband.

(11) Assume not the guise of faqirs and ask not for alms ; take no presents ; fear not magic ; before you trust in anything, test it well. The assembly of good men is your place of pilgrimage. Recognise good people before they salute you.

(12) The Sādh should observe no particular days. Pay no attention to the intercalary months, nor the months themselves. Do not look upon as your own the voice of any bird or beast. Seek only the word of God, and be content therewith."

Writing from Fatehgarh Mr. Steel says :—" In spite of the injunction to say, when asked who they are, ' I am Sādh', there was a marked tendency in the recent Census operations to put down the Sādhs as Hindus. Also the order to wear plain clothes is more honoured in the breach than the observance, the wealthy Sādhs of Farrukhābād being very gorgeous in their attire. A story is told (perhaps by their enemies), but denied by the Sādhs themselves, that in Nawābi times their funeral ceremony consisted in tying the corpse in a standing position to a tree with its face

to the wind and leaving it so. This used to take place north of the city of Farrukhâbâd. It is said that the practice was interdicted in consequence of the remonstrances of the English Officers at the Fatehgarh Cantonment. The whole story is probably a Brâhmanical invention."

8. Marriage songs of the Sâdhs :—

*Darshan dé Guru ! param sanahi !
Tum bina dukh pãwai mori dehî !
Nînd na dé, ann na bhãwai !
Bar bâr mohîn birah satãwai ;
Ghar angana mohîn kachhu na suhãé,
Fujar bhari par birah na jãé.
Nainan chhãtai salhal dhãra ;
Nis din panth nihãrũn tumhãra.
Jaisé mîn marai binu nãra,
Aisé tun bina dukhat sharîra.*

"O most beloved preceptor ! Let me see thee !
My frame aches without thee ! I feel no desire for sleep or food !
Again and again, I grieve for separation from thee ;
I feel no pleasure in my house or courtyard ;
When the morn dawns the pain of separation does not leave me.
Floods of tears flow from mine eyes ;
I consider thy doctrine night and day.
As a fish without water, so does my frame ache without thee."

*Dukhat tum bina ; rotat duãré ; pargat darshan dîjiyê
Binti karũn meré sãniya bali jãũn, bilam na kîjiyê !
Bibid bibid kar bhaydũn byãkul bina dekhen chit na rahai.
Tapat judla uthat tan men, kathin dukh mero ko sahãí.
Angun aprãdhi dãya kîjai angun kachhu na bichãriyo.
Patil pãnwan rakhu patî ab pal chhin na bisãriyo.
Dãya kîjo, daras dîjo, ab ki badi ko chhoriyo.
Bhar bhar nayanãn nãkhi dekhon nij saneh na toriyo.*

"My frame aches without thee ! I am wailing at thy door ! Now approach and let me see thee.

O my Lord ! I pray thee make no delay !

I have become restless through weeping and wailing.

I cannot live without the sight of thee.

Flames rise within me and consume my frame. Who can endure my pain ?

I am full of faults and sin ; do thou have mercy upon me.
 Take not my faults and failings into thy regard !
 O thou that freest the soul from sin ! maintain my honour !
 Forget me not even for a moment, and have mercy upon me !
 Show me thy form and forget my sins of the present !
 Cast thine eyes full upon me, and sever not thy love from me !"

9. Death song of the Sâdhs :—

*Tujhé binâna kiya pari tu apna niber ?
 Bâjai tâl bajant re man bāwaré ! Sutari na chher ?
 Par haqq chhāro haqq pichhāro. Samajh wāla pher.
 Jhūthā bāsi jagat ka, man bāwaré ! Sun shahd ki ter.
 Kāya to nagri sukāl bhamari pānch jamen ser.
 Guru gyān kharag sam bhal lē, man bāwaré !
 Yam karai na zer.
 Tera jīwana chhin pal ek, jag men phir na aisi ber.
 Tera para jahāz samudra men, man bāwaré ! phir sukai pher.
 Sabhi musāfir rāh kē sab kharē kamar karē.
 Lend hoē so lījiyē, man bāwaré, bilī jāt aber,
 Kar sumaran Sāt Guru chhāro dund duhel.
 Tijē bhām milain Sāt nām sē, man bāwaré ! man bāwaré, jagat
 ki na zer.*

"What hast thou to do with others ? Guard against the danger
 that awaits thee !

Why needest thou awake the sleeper ?

Abandon what is unreal. Recognise what is real.

This is only the perversion of the understanding.

O foolish mind ! The things of this world are false ; so saith the
 Voice of Truth.

The body is like a city ; in it are five lions.

Gird on the sword of the knowledge of the Preceptor, and then,

O foolish mind ! thou needest not fear the Lord of Death !

Thou livest for a moment, yea for the twinkling of an eye.

Thou shalt never have such time at thy disposal.

Thy bark has sailed into the deep ; O foolish mind ! If thou canst
 steer it safe to the yonder shore :

All thy fellow-passenger stand ready with their loins girt.

Take what thou desirest to take, O foolish mind ! The time is
 fast passing away.

Leave the noise and tumult of the world. Repeat the True Name.

Then shalt thou gain the third virtue (God) through the True Name; and then, O foolish heart! thou shalt have no longer to endure the labour of this world!"

Distribution of the Sādhās according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.		Numbers.
Farrukhābād		1,866
Cāwnpur		4
TOTAL .		1,870

Sahariya.¹—A tribe, which is apparently of Dravidian origin, found in Lalitpur and some of the adjoining parts of Bundelkhand. They do not appear in the returns of the last Census, having apparently been included with the Soiri. The name of the tribe is usually derived from the Arabic *sahara*, "a wilderness," which is familiar as the name of the great desert of Northern Africa; but this, of course, is out of the question. It may perhaps be conjectured that the name is connected with that of the Savaras, the name in Sanskrit writers of the aggregate of the Kolarian or Dravidian tribes who dwelt in the highlands of Central India, and included races like the Kols, Mundas, Kurkus, Bhils, Bhuiyas, and their kinsfolk. Some account of them will be found in connection with the Soiris. Another name for these Sahariyas of Bundelkhand is Rāwat, which comes from the Sanskrit *Rāja-dūta*, "King's messenger," or *Rāja-putra*, "King's Son."

2. The Sahariyas of Lalitpur are divided into a number of exogamous sections (*gotra*), such as the Sirausiya, Kodoriya, Thegotiya, Sanauliya, Rajauriya, Jachoriya, Kusmorwa, Sarosawa, Chakardiya, Chirauncha, Kurwariya, Bagauliya, Sanhauriya. Of the origin of these names the tribe can give no account. Further enquiry will probably show that some of them at least are of totemistic origin. These

Tribal organisation.

¹ Principally based on a note by Mr. H. C. Ferard, C. S.

sections are, as has been already said, exogamous. But as is usual, the rule of exogamy is reinforced by the prohibition of intermarriage between at least first and second cousins. Of their origin and history they can give no account. In Lalitpur they profess to be indigenous to the district.

3. When the bride is admitted into the family of her husband,

Marriage rules.

she has to perform the rite of *confarreatio*, which is known among them as *dudha bhāṭi*, or "the eating of boiled rice with milk." A man may marry as many wives as he pleases, but he cannot take a second wife in the lifetime of the first, unless she is barren or suffering from some serious disease. Concubinage, with the leave of the tribal council, is permitted. Unmarried girls are obliged to be chaste. If an unmarried girl is detected in an intrigue with a man of the tribe, she and her relations are put out of caste, until they feed the brethren; she can then be married, usually to her paramour. As far as possible infant marriage is the rule, and a girl should not remain unmarried after the age of ten. There is no regular bride-price, but by tribal custom the father of the bridegroom pays eight rupees to defray the expenses of the marriage. If a married woman is found intriguing with an outsider, she is permanently expelled, and this, being done with the sanction of the tribal council, operates as an absolute divorce, and such a woman cannot be remarried or taken as a concubine by a member of the tribe, on pain of the man she lives with being also excommunicated. But if her paramour be a member of the tribe, the matter is brought before the council, and on giving the necessary dinner to the brethren, her husband can take her back, if he be so disposed; if he refuse, she is made over as a concubine to the man who seduced her. Children, the offspring of an adulterous connection with a stranger to the tribe, are not admitted to full caste rights, and, being considered as of a lower grade, find husbands and wives for themselves as best they can among persons of their own rank. Widow marriage and the levirate are allowed under the usual restrictions. If the deceased husband leave a brother who has no wife, and is of the suitable age, he generally takes over the widow of his brother; but under no circumstances can an elder brother take the widow of his younger brother. If a widow marry an outsider, she loses all right to the custody of her children and to a share in the goods of her late husband. The heirs of a man are his sons, and

there is no trace of the fiction by which the children of the levir are attributed to his dead brother.

4. There is no ceremony during pregnancy. The mother is attended by a midwife of the Basor tribe, and on the tenth day the birth impurity is removed by the *daswán* rite, when the brethren are feasted ; or, if the family is very poor, some boiled gram (*ghughurí*) is distributed among them. There is no trace of the couvade and no rule of adoption.

5. When the match has been arranged by the parents of the parties and their friends, the father of the boy, accompanied by a few of his brethren, goes to the house of the bride, and taking her in his lap puts a rupee and some sweetmeats in her hand. The party are then entertained, and next morning, as he is going away, the father of the girl gives a rupee to the father of the boy, which fixes the betrothal. On the wedding day, the bridegroom and his relatives go to the house of the bride, and a mark (*tilak*) is made on his forehead. Next day the pair walk five times round the shed in the presence of the brethren, and this concludes the marriage. No Bráhmaṇ is employed, and the ceremony is carried out by an old man of the tribe or the brother-in-law of the bride.

6. The dead are cremated, except those who are unmarried or those who die of some epidemic disease. The ashes are thrown into some neighbouring stream, and the mourners have their heads shaved. There is no rite of the nature of the *Srāddha*, and no funeral priest is employed. The man who fires the pyre is impure for three days. A woman is impure for three days after her menses, and for ten days after her confinement. The impurity after the menstrual period is removed by bathing.

7. They are chiefly worshippers of Bhawāni, but they also reverence Rāma and Krishna. They have no special ancestor worship, and do not employ Bráhmaṇs in any of their domestic rites, which are conducted by the sister's son or by some old man of the tribe. They propitiate demons and evil spirits with the sacrifice of a goat ; sometimes the ear of the victim only is offered. When an animal is sacrificed, the worshippers consume the flesh themselves. They have also various local deities, such as Gonr, Narasinha, Sānwar, Goraiya, Katiya, Tholiya, Somiya, and Ahay Pál,—most of which appear to be deified

worthies of the tribe. They swear standing in water or with a piece of hot iron in the right hand. They have the usual belief in the demoniacal theory of disease, witchcraft, and the Evil Eye.

8. They eat mutton, goats' flesh, and pork, and drink spirits.

They salute each other in the form—*Râm !*

Social rules.

Râm ! Sitarâm ! Râdha Krishna ! Their

mode of life is the collection of various kinds of jungle produce and cultivating on the edge of the forest. They are classed generally as a criminal tribe, but it has not been as yet found necessary to take any special coercive measures against them. The chief offences to which they seem to be addicted resemble those of the Sanaurhiyas—burglary, petty theft, and an occasional robbery or *dakâiti*.

Sâin, Sâinîn, Sâni.—(Sanskrit *syâmika, svâmi*, "lord, master")—An order of Muhammadan ascetics. The term is very usually employed in a general sense to designate any religious Muhammadan mendicant. In the Panjâb, the Sâins or Gulâbdâsis are a Sikh sect, who, according to Mr. Ibbetson,¹ are chiefly interesting in the near approach of their doctrines to Epicurianism. They disbelieve in the existence of God, and venerate only living persons of their own persuasion. They are profligate both in profession and practice—esteeming wine, women, and personal enjoyment, and all that life offers which is worth having, and seeing no wrong in adultery and incest. These have, of course, no connection with the Muhammadan order of the same name in these Provinces.

Distribution of the Sâins according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Saharanpur . . .	525	Rânda . . .	12
Muzaffarnagar . .	1	Hamirpur . . .	3
Farrukhâbâd . . .	2	Jhânsi . . .	8
Bijnor . . .	4,131	Ghâzipur . . .	78
Pilibhît . . .	68	Gorakhpur . . .	167
Fatehpur . . .	20	Fasti . . .	92

¹ *Panjâb Ethnography*, para. 268.

Distribution of the Sāins according to the Census of 1891—concl'd.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Tarāi	7	Gonda	34
Lucknow	34	Bahrāich	116
Unāo	19	Bārābanki	204
Sitapur	459		
Kheri	645	TOTAL .	6,655

Saini.—A gardening and cultivating tribe found only in the Meerut Division and Bijnor. As is shown by their sub-castes, they are very closely allied with the Māli, if not identical. From Jālandhar Mr. Purser writes¹:—"According to their own account the Sainis were originally Mālis and lived principally in the Mathura District. When Mahmūd of Ghazni invaded India, the ancestors of the Sainis came into these parts, and, finding the land suitable for cultivation, settled down here and went not back to their homes. The explanation of the name Saini is that they were such good agriculturists and did such wonders with the land that the natives called them the Rasaini tribe (from *rasāi*, "cleverness, skill"), and in course of time the first syllable was lost and the present name Saini left. They are admirable cultivators, and surpassed by none in industry and skill. They do more market gardening than the Jāts, and perhaps even than the Arāins, but this is in addition to, and not in place of, ordinary farming. They have no bad qualities to distinguish them which call for special notice. The Sikhs among them pay much respect to the Granth Sāhib, and in every village have a copy of it, which is read diligently in the audience of the people. Men of this tribe not seldom take service and especially in the cavalry." In Jālandhar, according to another account,² they claim Rājput origin, and say they are connected with the Arāins, though the latter know nothing of the relationship. In Ambāla they are described as an ill-conditioned set, first-rate cultivators, but refractory and intriguing. Another derivation of their name current in these Provinces is that it is taken from *sāna*, which is the technical word for mixing up the chopped

¹ *Settlement Report*, 84.

² Ibbetson, *Panjab Ethnography*, 267.

millet fodder with chaff and water for farm cattle. In their customs and manners they are identical with the Mâli.

2. In Sahâranpur many of them breed ducks for the markets in the adjoining hill stations.

Distribution of the Sainis according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Baheniya.	Bhâgt-rathi.	Golâ.	Phûl-mâli.	Others.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dûn . .	...	...	...	...	97	97
Sahâranpur . .	2,265	2,898	7,191	...	7,910	20,264
Muzaffarnagar . .	1,816	19,022	578	47	1,714	23,177
Meerut . . .	221	4,265	...	...	3,022	7,508
Agra . . .	...	...	...	...	1	1
Bijnor . . .	7,184	37,663	126	...	3,386	48,349
Benares . . .	...	.	...	...	18	18
Tarâi . .	...	...	...	...	1	1
TOTAL .	11,486	63,848	7,895	47	16,149	99,425

Saiqalgar, Siqligar, Sikligar—(Arabic *saiqal*, “a polisher”) —The caste of armourers and polishers of metals. They are also known as Bâriya (*bâr*, “the edge of a weapon”, Sanskrit *pâlî*) or Sânwâla, Sândhara (*sân*, “a grindstone”), but these are especially cutlers and razor setters. In Mirzapur some call themselves Shaikh and others Pathân, and these do not intermarry. In Benares they say that they were originally Râjputs from Mârwar.¹ At Mirzapur they trace their origin to Partâbgarh, and call themselves the descendants of Dâud or David, probably in reference to the passage in the Qurân which says (*Surah XXI*, 79-80): “We taught him (David) the arts of making coats of mail (for before his time plates of metal were used) for you among mankind in general, that they might defend you from your suffering in warring with your enemies.” They follow the ordinary Musâلمان rules of exogamy, marriage, and inheritance. Widow marriage and the levirate are recognised,

¹ Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I, 317.

2. They pay special reference to the Pānchon Pîr, Shaikh Saddu,

Religion. Kâli Bhawâni, and Ghâzi Miyân. To the Pānchon Pîr and Ghâzi Miyân the offerings

consist of melons, mangoes, parched gram, pulse, cakes (*bari*), boiled rice, sugar, curds, and clarified butter. When cholera rages, they sacrifice a goat to Kâli Bhawâni. Shaikh Saddu is more specially venerated in Oudh. His visitations cause melancholy and hypochondria. He is worshipped by the distribution of sweets to the poor and the sacrifice of a black goat. He once found a magic lamp, the powers of which he abused, and was torn in pieces by the Jinn.¹ By the Saiqalgars he is worshipped with an offering of sweet cakes (*gulgula*) and the sacrifice of a goat.

3. Since the disarming of the country the trade of the armourer and cutler has become depressed. The ordinary Siquigar seen in towns is a trader of no worth, and his whole stock-in-trade is a circular whetstone (*sâu*) worked by a strap between two posts fixed in the ground. He sharpens a four-bladed knife, a pair of scissors or two razors for a pice (three pies). Their status is that of ordinary Muhammadans of the lower artizan class.

Distribution of the Saiqalgars according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dûn	45	...	45
Sahâranpur	12	312	324
Meerut	18	33	51
Bulandshahr . . . . .	...	23	23
Aligarh . . . . .	...	74	74
Mathura	8	42	50
Agra	49	43	92
Farrukhâbâd	8	...	8
Mainpuri	3	70	73

¹ For a full account of this worthy, see Mrs. Mir Hasan Ali's *Observations on the Muhammadans of India*, II, 324, sqq.

Distribution of the Suiqalgars according to the Census of 1891—continued.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Etāwah	2	39	41
Etah . . . . .	...	7	7
Bareilly	2	18	20
Budāun	23	9	32
Morādābād . . . . .	...	17	17
Shāhjahānpur	88	112	200
Pilibhīt	23	11	34
Cawnpur	53	14	67
Fatehpur . . . . .	...	4	4
Hamīrpur . . . . .	...	12	12
Allahābād . . . . .	...	65	65
Jhānsi	1	...	1
Jālaun . . . . .	...	53	53
Lalitpur . . . . .	...	1	1
Jaunpur . . . . .	...	103	103
Ghāzipur . . . . .	...	72	72
Gorakhpur . . . . .	...	305	305
Basti . . . . .	...	107	107
Azamgarh . . . . .	...	234	234
Tarāi	148	...	148
Lucknow	86	7	93
Unāo	1	...	1
Rāo Bareli . . . . .	...	89	89
Sitapur	12	230	242
Hardoi	1	116	117
Kheri	66	181	247
Faizābād . . . . .	...	130	130

Distribution of the Saiqalgars according to the Census of 1891—concluded.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Gonda . . . . .	...	265	265
Bahrâich	54	260	314
Sultânpur . . . . .	...	190	190
Partâbgâih	1	85	86
Bâiabanki . . . . .	...	113	113
TOTAL	704	3,446	4,150

Sâkadwîpi, Sâkaldwîpi.—A tribe of Brâhmanas who take their name from the land of Sâkadwîpa, which has been identified with the Kâbul Valley which was occupied by the Sâkas in the first century before Christ. In the Mahâbhârata the Sâkas are associated with the other Dasyu races of the North-Western Frontier, and we are told that Saineya, the charioteer of Krishna, “made the beautiful earth a mass of mud with the flesh and blood of thousands of Kambojas, Sâkas, Savaias, Kirâtas, Varvaras, destroying thy host;” and the same record affirms their connection with the Aryas in the verses:—“These tribes of Kshatriyas, *vis.*, Sâkas, Yavanas, Kambojas, and Drâviras have become Vrishalas from seeing no Brâhmanas.” How it came to pass that these Kshatriyas lost their Aryan status is thus related:—“Satyavrata was degraded to the condition of a Chandâla, or outcast, and called Trisanku on account of three sins (*tri sanku*),—of killing a cow, displeasing his father, and eating flesh not properly consecrated. But on his repentance and feeding the family of Visvamitra during a twelve years’ drought, he was transported to Heaven. His descendant Bahu was vanquished by the tribes of Haihayas and Talajhangas and died in exile. To him a posthumous son, named Sâgara, was born, who nearly exterminated the Haihayas and would have also destroyed the Sâkas had they not applied to their family priest Vasishtha for protection. The priest desired Sâgara to refrain from the slaughter of those who were as good as dead; for he had compelled the tribes to abandon the duties of their caste and all association with the twice born, and Sâgara thereupon

imposed upon them peculiar distinguishing marks. He made the Yavanas shave their heads completely, the Sâkas to shave the upper half of their heads, the Pâradas to wear their hair long, and the Pahlavas to let their beards grow. He deprived them of all religious rites, and thus, abandoned by Brâhmanas, they became Mlechchhas.¹ This notable instance of early ethnography shows that the writers of the early Paurânîk periods believed that these Scythian races, some of whom like the Chinese shave the fronts of their heads, were of common origin with themselves. "They, at the same time," as Dr. Muir notes,² "erroneously imagined that these tribes had fallen away from Brâhmanical institutions; thus assigning to their own polity an antiquity to which it could in reality have no claim." What real connection there may be between these Indo-Scythian Sâkas and the Sâkadwîpi Brâhmanas it is now impossible to ascertain.

2. The legend of their origin is thus told by themselves :

Tribal legend.

Sûraj Nârâyan, the Sun god, married the daughter of Visvakarma, the craftsman of the gods. When she was incommoded by the heat of her spouse, she went and complained to her father; but he said that he could not interfere unless Sûraj Nârâyan himself asked him to come with her to Visvamisra. When he arrived, Visvakarma told him that the only way by which his heat could be diminished was by cutting him into twelve pieces. Sûraj Nârâyan agreed to have this operation performed, and thus came to existence the twelve units (*kala*). As Visvakarma was cutting the Sun's body with his file, eighteen fragments fell in Sâkadwîpa and from these sprang the eighteen divisions of Sâkadwîpi Brâhmanas. It may be noted in passing that Sun worship prevailed largely among the Indo-Scythian tribes. The story goes on to say that Sri Krishna, by the advice of the Sun, summoned these Brâhmanas from Sâkadwîpa to cure his son Samba, who had been stricken with leprosy. They came flying through the air on the back of Garuda and effected the cure, for which they would take no remuneration. Again they started on the back of Garuda for Gaya, where the Râja Suloma was afflicted with the same disease. Him they also cured, and the Râni was so pleased that she secretly made to some of them a gift (*dâna*) of five

¹ Professor Wilson's *Works*, VIII, 294.

² *Ancient Sanskrit Texts*, I, 488.

villages, the names of which she wrote on betel leaves, and made the Brâhman chew. Seeing them degraded by thus accepting a reward for their services, Garuda refused to take them back again, so they were obliged to settle at Gaya. But four of them were so conscious of the disgrace which resulted from the treachery of the Râni, that they retired to the holy land of Badarinâth (*Badari ka dsrama*), and there died in the Himalayan snow. The four who thus lost their lives were Suratkrita, Sutaya, Sudhrama, and Sumati. The remaining fourteen founded the existing *gotras* of the Sâkadwîpis—Mihransu, Vasu, Parâsara, Kaudinya, Kasyapa, Garga, Bhṛigu, Bhābhṛamati, Sûryadatta, Nala, Arkadatta, and Kausila. They have in these Provinces at least no division by local areas (*dih*) and their system of exogamy depends altogether on the *gotras*.

3. Their titles are Misra, Pâthak, and Pânṛê. In Bengal, according to Mr. Risley¹ their tribal organization is different: "It is a curious fact that although the Sâkadwîpi have the standard eponymous *gotras* of the Brâhman caste, their marriages are regulated not by these, but by ninety-five divisions (*pur*) of the local or territorial type, that is to say, a Sâkadwîpi man may marry a woman of his own *gotra* who in theory is descended from the same mythical ancestor or Rishi as himself, but may not marry a woman whose forefathers are shown by the name of her *pur* to have come from the same village or the same tract of country as his own. To abandon the *gotra* altogether, and to substitute for it exogamous divisions based on a wholly different order of facts, involves so serious a departure from orthodox usage that one is inclined to doubt whether the Sâkadwîpi can never have been organised on the orthodox lines. This doubt is borne out by the statement made by Mr. Sherring that the test applied to a stranger pretending to be a Sâkadwîpi is to offer him what is called *jhûtha pâni*, or water from a vessel from which another person has drunk,—a custom prohibited by all strict sects of Hindus. Should the stranger not be a Sâkadwîpi, he will refuse the water, probably with some indignation, as by drinking it, his caste, whatever it was, would be broken. If a Sâkadwîpi, however, he will take it willingly."

4. Whatever may be the case in Bengal, there seems little doubt that in these Provinces the Sâkadwîpi follow the ordinary Brâhman formula of *gotra* exogamy; and it is perhaps possible that the

¹ *Tribes and Castes*, 1, 159.

rule which, according to Mr. Risley, prevails in Bihār, represents a falling off from the stricter rules of the Western Branch of the tribe. In these Provinces the Sākadwīpi act as family priests and astrologers and seem to have a preference for the Tantrika rites.

Distribution of Sākadwīpi Brāhmins according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Sahāranpur . . .	7	Gorakhpur . . .	12,272
Meerut . . .	11	Basti . . .	6,736
Bulandshahr . . .	1	Azamgarh . . .	2,097
Mathura . . .	2	Tarāi . . .	1
Farrukhābād . . .	3	Lucknow . . .	121
Mainpuri . . .	179	Rāō Bareilly . . .	471
Bareilly . . .	3	Sitapur . . .	1,313
Morādābād . . .	15	Hardoi . . .	5
Pilibhit . . .	4	Kheri . . .	495
Cawnpur . . .	24	Faizābād . . .	4,545
Bānda . . .	22	Gonda . . .	8,263
Benares . . .	1,773	Bahraich . . .	14,526
Mirzapur . . .	657	Sultānpur . . .	1,554
Jaunpur . . .	47	Bānabanki . . .	7,121
Ghāzipur . . .	1,938		
Ballia . . .	2,381	TOTAL .	67,186

Sakarwār.—A sept of Rājputs who take their name from some place named Sikri. This, by one account, is Fatehpur Sikri, where Akbar built his famous palace near Agra. "In Unāo¹ they are the

¹ Elliott, *Chronicles*, 43, sq.

least considerable of all the clans who figure in these chronicles, and their weakness has had the common effect of destroying their ancestral pride and effacing the memory of their old traditions. None of them can give a clear account of where they came from, or what their history has been. But there seems reason to believe that they are a portion of the same Sakarwârs, who, emigrating into Oudh from the West, settled in the Faizâbâd District, near Dostpur. These latter are certainly earlier colonists than the Bachgoti and Râjkumâr Râjas, who have now nearly succeeded in reducing them to servitude, and whose immigration was contemporaneous with that of the Chauhâns of Chauhâna. The latter probably colonised their present position in 1350 A. D., and belong to the first class of colonists; and, consequently, if the above line of reasoning be correct, the Sakarwârs, who are earlier than them, belong to the first class also."

2. They appear to have held North Gorakhpur¹ before the Sirnets. They are the strongest Hindu landowners in Ghâzipur,² except the Kinwâr Bhuînhârs. They claim to have been originally Mîr Brâhmans from Fatehpur Sikri. They have split into a Râjput and Bhuînhâr branch, and some are Muhammadans. In Azamgarh³ the Râjputs ignore the Bhuînhâr branch; but the latter assert that they are of the same stock, which is generally believed. They call themselves Gadiya, and derive the name from an ancestor named Gâd, or one who was afflicted with ringworm (*gâd*). Another story is that he was a Râja Gâdh, who was the founder of Ghâzipur and the ancestor of the Sakarwâr as well as the Kausik sept. In the Azamgarh story he lived at Sikrigarh, near Lahore, which was the home of the sept. Another branch moved into the hills and are known as Parbatiya. They settled in Pargana Nizâmâbad after expelling the Suiris. The Muhammadan branch in Sultânpur trace their origin to one Pûran Mal, who is said to have been converted to Islâm in the time of Tamerlane, or more probably of one of his successors.

3. It is reported that the Sakarwârs give and take brides to and from the Bhadauriya, Dhâkra, Gahlot, Kachhwâha, Panwâr, and Parihâr septs.

¹ Buchanan, *Eastern India*, II, 458.

² Oldham, *Memo.*, I, 64.

³ *Settlement Report*, 30, 57.

Distribution of the Sakarwâr Rājputs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Bulandshahr	31	17	48
Mathura	228	34	262
Agra	10,001	13	10,014
Farrukhābād	276	...	276
Mainpuri	384	3	387
Etāwah	340	...	340
Etah	405	3	408
Budāun	349	...	349
Morādābād	506	...	506
Shāhjahānpur	35	...	35
Cawnpur	46	10	56
Fatehpur	112	...	112
Bānda	56	...	56
Allahābād	57	1	58
Jhānsi	24	...	24
Jālaun	112	3	115
Benares	485	13	498
Mirzapur	5	...	5
Jaunpur	121	116	237
Ghāzipur	5,616	6,101	11,717
Ballia	1,776	31	1,807
Gorakhpur	2,702	141	2,843
Basti	585	103	688
Azamgarh	2,179	284	2,463
Lucknow	90	9	99
Unāo	222	...	222
RAS Bareilly	444	...	444

*Distribution of the Sakarwâr Râjputs according to the Census of
1891—concluded.*

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Sitapur	241	11	352
Hardoi	2,418	...	2,418
Kheri	128	11	139
Faizâbâd	618	1,473	2,091
Bahrâich	16	..	16
Sultânpur	897	1,194	2,091
Partâbgarh	231	23	257
Bârabanki	18		18
TOTAL	31,887	9,591	41,481

Saknyâni, Shaknyâni.—A class of Hill Brâhmans. Common report makes them the progenitors of both Sârolas and Gangâris, and the name is said to be derived from the great Sâka race. Others connect the name with a colony of ascetics who lived near Tapuban and Rikhikes; others again assign the name to a great grove of *sakin* trees, whose bluish flowers are used in worship, and which gave the name of Sakinyâni to the parent village and Saknyâni to the people. Those who remained on the banks of the Ganges became known as Gangâris. They intermarry with Ghildyâls, Unyâls, Ingwâls, Dâdais, and Naithâna and Bughâna Brâhmans.¹

Sanâdh.—A tribe of Brâhmans most numerous in the Central and Lower Ganges-Jumna Duâb and Rohilkhand. Sir H. M. Elliot lays down the boundaries of the Sanâdh country as follows :²—“ They touch the Kanauiyas on the North-West, extending over Central Rohilkhand, and part of the Upper and Central Duâb, from Pilibhît to Gwâlior. The boundary line runs from the north-west angle of Rampur, through Richa, Jahânâbâd, Nawâbganj, Bareilly, Farîdpur, to the Râmganga; thence through Salimpur and the borders of Mehrâbâd; thence down the Ganges to the borders of

¹ Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III, 271.

² *Supplemental Glossary*, S. V. Kanauiya.

Kanauj; thence up the Kālinadi to the western border of Alipur, Patto, through Bhongānw, Sij, Bihāmau, and down the Jumna to the junction of the Chambal. Instances, of course, occur of occupation by either party on the other line, but they are very rare. On the North-West the Sanādh are met by the Gaur Brāhmans, whose boundary line is also sufficiently definite to admit of description. It runs through the Rāmpur territory as far as the Rāmganga, thence through Sarauli, Scondara, Narauli, Bahjoi, Rājpora, Dabhai, and the western border of Koil, Chankausi, Noh-Jhil, and Kosi."

2. There is much doubt as to the origin of the name. According to one authority¹ it is derived from *sana*, "austerity," and *adhya*, "wealth," a conjunction which applied to a Brāhman would imply "one possessed of the wealth of religious austerities." According to others, *sana-adhya* means "absorbed in asceticism." Mr. Nesfield, without much apparent reason, would connect the name with that of the criminal Bundelkhandi tribe known as Sanaurhiya. They claim to be a sub-branch of the Kanaujiya, and the tribal legend as given by themselves tells how Rāma, on his return from Lanka, assembled a large number of Brāhmans at the great Rudāyan tank, near Shāhpur Tahla, in Pargana Azamgarh of the Etah District, to perform a *sanāha yuga*, or sacrifice. At the conclusion of the ceremony, he distributed among them grants of land and money, and hence the name Sanādh, either from the ceremony in which they participated, or from the Sanskrit root *sana*, "to obtain as a gratuity." There is a curious resemblance between this story and the account given of themselves by the Tagas of Meerut and the Nāgars of Bulandshahr. Most of the Sanādhs of Etah represent themselves as the descendants of the Brāhmans of Rāma's days; a few belonging to the Dandotiya *al* say that they came from the Gwālior territory, where the Emperor Akbar had given them a group of eighty-four villages (*chaurāsi*) on the banks of the Chambal. These villages, known as the Dandtoghar Chaurāsi, are said to be in the possession of the Sanādhs to the present day. The Bhateli Brāhmans of Etah are an offshoot of the Sanādhs. In Etāwah Sanādh Brāhmans of the Singhiya and Merha *gotras*, the former with the title Chaubé, are found in Pargana Auraiya. They trace

¹ Rāja Lachhman Singh, *Bulandshahr Memo.*, 158.

their origin to one Vasudeva or Bāsdeo, and are said to have been among the earliest immigrants. According to their family traditions, Bāsdeo came and settled at Sahabda or Sabhad under the protection of the Sengar Rājputs, and then one of them went to Delhi as late as the reign of Shahāb-ud-dīn Ghori and obtained some service. In the reign of Akbar they obtained a grant of land near Auraiya, and assumed the title of Chaudhari, or were appointed to the office. Some of the family have since borne the title, and in the neighbourhood of Auraiya they still retain many villages. The Singiyas derive their name from Singiya, a tract near Delhi, from which they came into the Etāwah District. They say that Garga Achārya, the spiritual preceptor of Krishna, belonged to their family. The Merhas profess to have been the family priests of the Bhareh Rājas. Besides these, two other important *gotras* of the Sanādhs are settled in Etāwah. In the fourteenth century, when Alā-ud-dīn captured Rinthambor, Hari Pant, a famous Pandit, came to Etāwah, accompanied by Ugra Sen of the Mathuriya *gotra* of the Sanādhs; similarly the Svarna *gotra* are said to have come with Sumer Sāh.¹

3. The Sanādhyas are not purely endogamous. It would appear that wherever their habitat, as shown above, joins that of the other tribes, intermarriage is not infrequent. Thus in Farrukhābād, where they meet the Kanaujiyas, both intermarry. In the same way in the Bulandshahr District they intermarry with the Gaur. But here, for some time, and perhaps in some cases even now, a sort of hypergamy prevailed, that is to say, the Gaur and Kanaujiya married Sanādhi girls, but did not give their own daughters to a Sanādhi in marriage. This distinction is, it appears, being obliterated by degrees.

4. One division among the Sanādhi Brāhmins is into the "three-and-a-half houses" (*sārhe-tin ghar*) and the "ten houses" (*das ghar*). The former are considered superior, and a system of hypergamy prevails among them by which "the three-and-a-half houses," for a money consideration, take brides from the "ten houses," and do not give them girls in exchange. The result of this is that the former find no difficulty in marrying even at an advanced age.

5. The Rohilkhand legend tells that Adisur was Rāja of the Pargana of Kot Satāsi in the Budāun District. He had four famous

¹ *Gazetteer, North-Western Provinces, IV, 38, 274.*

Pandits in his Court. To the four sons of the chief Pandit, known as Misraji, he gave four villages for their support, *vis.*, Sarāha, Rahariya, Tārapur, and Bhatta. These originated four sections, the Misras of Sarāha, Rahariya, and Tārapur, and the Pāthaks of Bhatta. These four, being descended from the same ancestor, cannot intermarry. The second Pandit was named Sankhadhāra. He had also four sons, and to them the Rāja gave four villages : Auni, Dhamai, Reunai, and Parsara. Hence arose four sections, the members of which being of the same stock cannot intermarry : Auni kê Sankhdhâr, Dhamai kê Sankhdhâr, Reunai kê Sankhdhâr, and Parsara kê Sankhdhâr. The village of Auni is close to Budāun, and is still in the possession of these Brāhmanas. The descendants of the third Pandit are called after him Parāsari, and from the villages held by his descendants spring four sections, *vis.*, Para, Chandāwali, Pipara, and Ubra. The section taking its name from Ubra is known as Trigorāyat, because their ancestor had mastered the three Vedas. The others are known as Parāsari. These four, being of the same stock, cannot intermarry. The fourth Pandit had only two sons to whom the Rāja gave two villages : Dungarpur and Kataiya. These are known as the Misras of these two places. The fourteen families thus enumerated constitute the "three-and-a-half houses."

6. There is also some connection between the Sanādh and the Kataha or Mahābrāhman. The story runs that this same Rāja Adisur was once going on a pilgrimage, when he became seriously ill. The Rāja of Nāgadesa, where he was at the time, sent him a skilful physician, who restored Adisur to health. His patient was so pleased that he gave him the name of Kashtaha, or "remover of trouble," of which Kataha is without much probability said to be a corruption. It is alleged that Rāja Adisur compelled the "three-and-a-half houses" to intermarry with these Katahas, an assertion which clearly marks some fall in status of which the real explanation has been forgotten.

7. The domestic rites of the Sanādh are of the normal type. At marriage they have a ceremony which seems
 Domestic rites. to be peculiar to them called *nitasuti*. The bridegroom is made to sit behind the bride, and behind him the eldest man of the family and the other relations sit in a line. The barber's wife moves a milk churner (*raṭi*) and a bundle of thread over the heads of all the men and women present. Then one or more vessels of sweetmeats are shown to the bride and she is asked

if they are full or empty If she says that they are full, it is a good omen ; if she says that they are empty, the marriage will not be prosperous. After this potter's wheel is worshipped Some make an image of it on the wall of the house, others go to the potter's house and worship his wheel there

8. The Sanādh Brāhmans have, on the whole, a doubtful reputation, and are not much respected among the other Brāhmanical tribes. Many, in addition to some priestly functions, hold land and cultivate, but they will not hold the plough themselves.

9. The Sanauhīya, a thieving tribe of Bundelkhand, claim kindred with the Sanādh Brāhmans. According to one story they were excommunicated, because they attended the rite (*jag*) held by Rāmchandra when he was defiled by the blood of the Brāhman Rāvana. Others say that they were degraded, because they did not attend the sacrifice performed by Brahma at Brāhmavartta or Bithûr

Distribution of Sanādh Brāhmans according to the Census of 1891.

DISRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS	Numbers.
Dehra Dûn . . .	148	Budāun . . .	41,817
Sahāranpur . . .	222	Morādābād . . .	8,022
Muzaffarnagar . . .	329	Shāhjāhānpur . . .	14,840
Meerut	1,051	Pilibhit	10,027
Bulandshahr . . .	8,477	Cawnpur	759
Aligarh	76,209	Fatehpur	381
Mathura	63,345	Bānda	1,211
Agra	106,381	Hamirpur	4,371
Farrukhābād . . .	6,087	Allahābād	1,070
Mainpuri	42,691	Jhānsi	8,606
Etāwah	36,659	Jālaun	15,155
Etah	44,070	Lalitpur	3,498
Bareilly	31,630	Benares	468
Bijnor	382	Mirzapur	704

*Distribution of Sanādh Brāhmins according to the Census of
1891—concluded.*

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Jaunpur . . .	411	Sitapur . . .	1,056
Ghāzipur . . .	149	Hardoi . . .	908
Ballia . . .	69	Kheri . . .	1,814
Gorakhpur . . .	2,110	Faizābād . . .	610
Basti . . .	1,429	Gonda . . .	2,320
Aramgarh . . .	474	Bahrāich . . .	1,306
Kumaun . . .	9	Sultānpur . . .	1,532
Tarāi . . .	631	Pastābgarh . . .	399
Lucknow . . .	548	Bārabanki . . .	2 867
Unāo . . .	113		
Rāo Bareilly . . .	814	TOTAL .	548,261

Sanaurhiya, Sanorhiya.—A so-called caste of criminals in Bundelkhand. They seem to have escaped separate enumeration at the last Census by recording themselves as a tribe of Brāhmins, and, in fact, they claim to be akin to the Sanādh Brāhmins of the Ganges-Jumna Duāb.¹ Attention was first distinctly called to their criminal propensities in 1851, when they were called Uthaigiras or Sanorhiyas, and were estimated to number 4,000 in Tehri State, 300 in Bānpur, and 300 in Datiya. The Rājas of Tehri and Bānpur gave them protection, receiving presents in return, and frankly admitted this when addressed by the Political Agent.

2. The Sanaurhiyas are not a caste but a confraternity recruited by the initiation of promising boys from all castes except sweepers and Chamārs. A census taken of them in 1882 showed that they then included Brāhmins, Lochans, Telis, Thākurs, Kanjars, Ahirs, Dhīmars, Sunārs, Kurmis, Lodhas, Nāis, and Dhobis. One account of their origin is that they are Sanādh Brāhmins who were excommunicated, because they attended the feast given by Rām Chandra when he was defiled with the blood of Rāvana. Another story is

¹ See Mr. D. T. Robert's note in connection with the Police Commission of 1890.

that they were degraded for not attending the sacrifice performed by Brâhma at Brahnavartta or Bithûr. A third account is that they came from Delhi about two centuries ago. It is quite obvious that they have no claim to rank as Brâhmans. They possess a slang vocabulary of their own, confine themselves to thefts by day, and are said entirely to abstain from nocturnal theft, house-breaking, and crimes of violence: so much so that members of the confraternity offending in this way are excommunicated. They never steal near home and begin their depredations at least a hundred miles away. But they visit all parts of India, including Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. They assume the disguise of respectable merchants and travellers, and their favourite method of shop-lifting is by the agency of a boy, whilst one or two of the gang as customers engage the shop-keeper in conversation and lead him to display his goods. A gang will be absent on an expedition sometimes for a year at a time. The fascination of their profession is so great that they say "Once a Sanaurhiya, always a Sanaurhiya." In various distant cities one or more Sanaurhiyas used to reside, apparently carrying on an honest business, but really acting as receivers of stolen goods. The Criminal Tribes Act was extended to them in 1874, and Mr. Robert's note contains full details of the supervision exercised over them since that time. The result, as in so many cases, has been far from satisfactory.

Sanjogi—(Sanskrit *samyogi*, "joined").—Classed at the last Census as an order of Hindu ascetics. The word, or its equivalent *Grihasti*, "householder," appears to be equally applied to those who have so far abandoned the practices of the ascetic orders as to marry and lead a family life.

Distribution of the Sanjogis according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Bulandshahr . . .	31	Fatehpur . . .	1
Agra	758	Bânda	22
Etah	6	Hamirpur	66
Budâun	12	Allahâbâd	1
Cawnpur	4	Jhânsi	142

Distribution of the Sanjogis according to the Census of 1892—concluded.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Jālaun . . .	178	Basti . . .	741
Lalitpur . . .	136	Hardoi . . .	67
Ghāzipur . . .	539	Gonda . . .	36
Ballia . . .	832		
Gorakhpur . . .	996	TOTAL . . .	4,538

Sannyāsi—(Sanskrit *sannyāsi*, “abandonment of the world,”)—a term which is often used in very vague and uncertain senses.—It properly means the ascetic stage of life through which every Brāhman should pass. But the term is specially applied to the followers of the famous reformer Shankar Achārya. “The Saivas,” writes Mr. MacLagan,¹ “have generally been defenders of the faith against innovation. The final struggles against Buddhism in the south and centre of the peninsula gave rise to one sect of Saivas, known henceforth as Sannyāsis, and the contest against the innovating Bhagats of Northern India in the fifteenth century gave rise to another sect now known as the Jogis.” Some account from local sources of Shankar Achārya and his disciples has been already given under the head of the Gusāins. Mr. MacLagan’s account from the Panjāb tradition is somewhat different and may be given here: “Shankar Achārya, the well-known Sanskrit commentator, a very vigorous defender of orthodoxy, is supposed to have lived in the ninth or tenth, or, according to Professor Monier Williams, in the eighth century, and to have helped in the final extinction of Buddhism in India. Shankar Achārya is said to have had four pupils, from whom are derived the ten classes of Sannyāsis,—from Padman Achārya, the Tīratha and Āsrama classes; from Sarūpa Achārya, the Bana and Arana; from Tarnaka or Tānk Achārya, the Giri, Sāgara, and Parvata; and from Prithodar or Prithivi Achārya, the Puri, Bhārthi, and Sāraswati. According to others the order is divided into four Maths,—the Joshi Math containing the Giri, Puri, and Bhārthi; the Sangri Math containing the Bana, Arana, and Tīratha; the Nararā-

¹ *Panjāb Census Report*, III, sq.

gini Math containing the Parvath and Asrama ; the Brahmachāri Math containing the Sâraswati and Dandi. The fact that there are ten groups of Sannyâsis is well known, but different versions are given of the names. Of eight lists which I have before me from different parts of the Province the Giri, Puri, Arana, and Bhârthi appear in all, but one or other of the following names, Astâwar, Jati, Bodla, Dandi, Anandi, Datta, Achârya, Kar, Nirambhê, or Pari is often substituted for one or other of the remaining six class-names. According to some account only eight of the classes are really Sannyâsi, the Bhârthi being Jogis, and the Dandi, Vaishnavas. Three classes only—the Nirambh, Asrama, and Sâraswati—are allowed to wear or use arms. Five of the sub-divisions are said to be recruited from Brâhmans alone, *vis.*, the Sâraswati, Achârya, Arana, Bana, and Ananda ; the other five being open to the public.

2. “A man of any caste may become a Sannyâsi, but in practice the order is made up of Brâhmans and Khatri mainly ; and, according to some, the true Sannyâsi will partake of food only in the house of a Brâhman and a Khatri. The members of the sect are supposed to be strict celibates, but of late not a few of them have taken to marriage, and still continue to beg though married. They are, as a rule, of a higher class than the Jogis, and their morality is of a higher order, but scandals about their enticing away the wives of rich Hindus are said to be not infrequent, though generally hushed up. The whole order is in theory devoted to contemplation and abstracted from the cares of this world, and a large number of Sannyâsis are actually religious mendicants without wives and without money, who wear ochre-coloured clothes and distribute quack medicines, who refuse to touch a coin or to take in alms more food than will suffice for the day ; but there are also many who work in business and are men of great wealth.

3. “In fact the order is sometimes divided into three groups called after the three philosophical qualities (*gunu*): the Rajoguni, who are the principals of religious houses (*akhâra*) and live in the world ; the Tamoguni, who are ascetics who live on charity, begging for the wants of the day ; and the Satoguni, who do not even beg but trust to support from Heaven and their neighbour.

4. “The Sannyâsis are professedly followers of the Vedânta system of philosophy which was promulgated by their leader Shankar Achârya, and the books based in that philosophy are held specially sacred by them. They are, as has already been noticed, a

sect not indigenous in the Panjāb, and their chief places of pilgrimage, — Benares, Amarnāth, Narsinhnāth, etc., — are outside the Province. They are especially remarkable for some customs which are foreign to the Hindus of this and most parts of India. In the first place, they do not generally wear the scalp-lock (*chōṭī*), but either wear all their hair or shave it all. Further, the true Sannyāsi does not, it is said, wear the sacred thread (*janu*). And, again, their usual custom is not to burn their dead, but to bury them or throw them into rivers. When buried, the dead are placed in a sitting posture facing East or North-East, and the hands and arms are rested on crutch."

5. In these Provinces the rite of initiation takes, according to one account, three days. On the first day, his body is purified with milk, *ghi*, cow-dung, cow-urine, and curds, and all his hair, except the scalp-lock, is shaved off. On the third day, the *koma* and *śrāddha* are performed and his scalp-lock and Brāhmanical cord are removed. Then the *mantras* of the order are recited into his ear by the Guru, and he receives a *dand* or bamboo stick with a piece of red cloth tied to one end of it. Then he is known as Dandi. Only Brāhmins can become proper Sannyāsis. There is no condition of age. Most become members of the order on account of trouble, as the verse runs — *Nari māi, ghar sampatti nāsi; Mānd murdī, bhāṣe Sannyāsi*. "When a man's wife dies and he loses his home and property, he shaves his head and becomes a Sannyāsi."

6. The sectarian mark is the *tripund*: three horizontal lines drawn on the forehead. Their dress is the *kopin* or small loin cloth with a broader piece of cloth rolled round the hips. They carry a water-pot known as *kamandal* and a rosary of the *rudrāksha* berry. They get their food either at alms-houses (*kshetra*) or from charitable Hindus. When they ask for alms they say *Nārāyaṇ*, "Great God." The respectable title for them is *Swāmi*, "Lord." The proper Sannyasi ought to eat a meal of only milk, fruits or vegetables once a day, and they are particular in abstaining from meat and other substances, such as garlic (*lakṣan*), which are supposed to excite passion. They do not cook for themselves. They prefer to eat food cooked by a Brāhman or Kshatriya; but if such a person is not present, they can eat from the hand of a Vaisya or Sūdra. Their cooking vessels are of the usual Hindu pattern, and they are careful not to use the vessels belonging to a member of another religion. They do not enter Jaina temples, but visit all the ordinary Hindu

shrines. But they practise no form of idol worship, as they themselves have attained the rank of deities. They salute each other in the words *Namo Nārāyan*. They salute their religious guides and other eminent Sannyāsis by falling before them. They chiefly worship Nārāyana, but until they obtain the rank of complete saintship, they also revere Ganesa, Rudra, Bhāgawati, and Sūraj Nārāyan, the Sun godling.

7. Nizām-ud-dîn Ahmad in the *Tabakāt-i-Akbari* describes a terrible fight between a body of Jogis and Sannyāsis at Thānesar in the presence of the Emperor Akbar, when the Jogis were defeated.¹ General Goddard, in his march through Bundelkhand, was attacked by a body of two thousand Sannyāsis called Saiva Nāgas.²

Distribution of the Sannyāsis according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Dehra Dûn . .	37	Pilibhît . . .	34
Sahāranpur . .	137	Cawnpur . . .	6
Muzaffarnagar . .	101	Fatehpur . . .	5
Meerut . . .	43	Bānda . . .	23
Bulandshahr . .	119	Hamirpur . . .	40
Agra . . .	35	Allahābād . . .	19
Farrukhābād . .	11	Jhānsi . . .	142
Mainpuri . . .	3	Jālaun . . .	17
Etāwah . . .	7	Lalitpur . . .	84
Etah . . .	25	Ghāzipur . . .	113
Bareilly . . .	82	Ballia . . .	651
Bijnor . . .	30	Gorakhpur . . .	1,069
Budāun . . .	14	Basti . . .	3
Morādābād . . .	38	Garhwāl . . .	1,077
Shāhjahānpur . .	19	Tarāi . . .	67

¹ Dowson's *Elliot, History*, V, 818.

² Pennant, *Hindustān*, II, 192.

Distribution of the Sannyāsīs according to the Census of 1891—concluded.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers.	DISTRICTS.	Numbers.
Lucknow . . .	17	Faizābād . . .	218
Unāo . . .	1	Gonda . . .	13
Rāō Bareli . . .	37	Bahnāich . . .	1
Sitapur . . .	10		
Hardoi . . .	58	TOTAL . . .	4,406
Males		2,668	
Females		1,738	

Sānsiya.¹—A vagrant thieving tribe who were at the time of the last Census confined to the Western Districts of the Province. Of their name no satisfactory account has been given. Some derive it from the Sanskrit *svāsa*, “breathing,” or *srasta*, “separated;” others with *svagānika*, “one who has to do with dogs,” or *svapāka*, “dog-cooking,” a person of a degraded and outcaste tribe, who, by the older law, was required to live outside towns, to eat his food in broken vessels, to wear the clothes of the dead, and to be excluded from all intercourse with other people; he could possess no other property than asses and dogs, and his office was to act as public executioner and to carry out the bodies of such as die without kindred. It is true that these are now-a-days the functions of the Dom, but the mode of life of the Sānsiya is sufficiently degraded to make it perhaps possible that he may have inherited the name. The Sānsiya is no doubt the near kinsman of the other degraded wandering races who occupy the same part of the country, such as the Kanjar, Beriya, Hābūra, and Bhātu. Their tribal legends, so far as they have been recorded, do not throw much light on their history of origin. Some of them allege that they are a sub-caste of Nats; but the Nats do not acknowledge kinship with them. Another of their legends appears in various forms. By one account when the Agnikula or fire-born races were created, the Chauhān Rājputs created the Sānsiyas to act as their bards and sing their

¹ Principally based on an excellent report by Mr. F. W. Court, District Superintendent, Police, Aligarh; notes collected at Mirzapur and by the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Bijnor.

praises. Their first ancestor was, it is said, one Sâns Mal or Sahasman, who has given his name to the tribe. He is said to have had three sons: One was born early in the morning when these people take their morning draught of butter milk (*chhānchh*) and hence sprang the Chhānchhdih section. The second was born at midnight, which is said in their patois to be called *karkhand*, and hence the section known as Karkhand. The youngest was born at noon, and as this is the time they milk their buffaloes, he was called Bhains. Bhains, it may be noted, is a section of both the Beri-yas and Kanjars, which tends to establish the connection between the tribes, and Kâra also means a "young buffalo." So the designation of these sections may be perhaps either totemistic or occupational. Another story makes out their ancestor to have been Sâns or Sahâns Sinh, a Râthaur Râjput. His house once fell down in the rainy season, and he could not afford to rebuild it; so he and his descendants took to living in wigwams. He is said to have had three sons—Chandu Sinh, Gaddu Sinh, and Beri Sinh,—all their descendants took to a jungle life and lived by collecting *khaskhas* grass and catching vermin. The women of Beri Sinh's family took to prostitution, and they are the present Beri-yas; those of Chandu Sinh were called Chanduwâla; and those of Gaddu or Giddu Sinh, the present Gidiyas. These legends are of little value except to prove the identity of a number of castes of the same social standing and occupation, who are known in the Central Duâb as Beri-yas, in the Upper Duâb as Gidiya, Hâbua or Bhâtu; in Mathura and Bhartpur as Radhiya or Radhua Kanjars; and in Râjputâna as Gharkhulo or "those who live with their doors open." According to another legend there were two brothers—Sâns Mal and Malanûr—from the former are descended the Sânsiyas and Kanjars; from the latter the Beri-yas or Kolhâtis and the Doms and Mângs.¹

2. As we have seen, the more degraded members of the tribe

recognise three exogamous sections: Chhānchhdih, Karkhand, and Bhains. Those who

Tribal organization. are rather more advanced and lay stress on their alleged Râjput descent profess to have sections taken from the names of well-known Râjput clans, such as Chauhân, Khâgi, Pundîr, Gahlot, and Samhâr. There is again another endogamous division of them into

¹ Gunthorpe, *Notes on Criminal Tribes*, 46.

Kalka or those of pure Sânsiya blood and Malla, whose mothers were Sânsiya women and their fathers men of other castes. That the tribe is much mixed is quite certain. It is well known that they habitually kidnapped girls of other castes. Of the seven gangs in the Aligarh District it was recently ascertained that the women leaders of four were women of other tribes, who had been either kidnapped or introduced into the tribe. Even now it is admitted that they will take into the tribe men of almost any tribe except the lowest menials. The only ceremony is that the convert is made to eat and drink with members of the tribe.

3. Another very curious fact about them is that they act as a sort of Bhat or bard and genealogists to some tribes of Jats and to some Chauhân Râjputs.

The Sânsiyas as bards.

Many of the Sânsiyas of these Provinces refer their origin to Bhatpur, where they allege they were bards to the original ruling family. So in the Panjâb we find that in Hoshiarpur¹ they receive an allowance from the Jâts known as *birt*. "Towards them they hold the same position as that of Mirâsis or Doms among other tribes. Each Jât family has its Sânsi, and among the Jâts of the Malwa and Mânjha, the Sânsi is supposed to be a better authority on genealogy than the Mirâsi, for thus he takes a fee at marriages. If the fee is not paid, he retaliates effectually by damaging crops or burning ricks." This fact is corroborated by Mr Ibbetson² in relation with various other Jât and Râjput tribes of the Panjâb. How this connection can have arisen it is impossible to say; but the case of the Patânis, the degraded priests of the Mânjhis, is a case in point, and the relation between these tribes furnishes a possible analogy which may account for the creation of the degraded Brâhman tribes, like the Mahâbrâhman and Dakaut.

4. In addition to the prohibition of marriage within the section there is the additional prohibition against marrying in the families of first-cousins, until at least three generations have passed since the last connection by marriage. They generally marry in the same neighbourhood, but the feeling seems to be in favour of selecting a bride from another camp, which is perhaps one of the most primitive forms of

¹ *Settlement Report*, 106.

² *Panjâb Ethnography*, para. 577.

exogamy.¹ We have also probably a survival of the matriarchate in the rule by which the match is arranged by the *phāpha* or father's sister's husband of the bride or bridegroom. Besides this the marriage and funeral ceremonies are performed by the son-in-law (*dāsyāna*) or by a connection through a female (*mān*). As among all nomadic tribes, owing to the comparative weakness of female infants, girls are in a deficiency. At the last Census there were only 1,955 women to 2,332 men; hence brides are in demand, and a heavy bride-price is charged for a suitable girl. In Aligarh it is reported that a bride sometimes costs as much as four or five hundred rupees, all of which is spent in drinking and debauchery during the ceremony. The marriage ceremony is analogous to that of the Kanjars. The bridegroom, after the match is arranged, arrives with a body of his friends, and there is a pretence of seizing the bride by force if she be not peaceably surrendered. He then seizes her in the presence of the assembled elders, drags her seven times round the marriage shed, and marks her forehead with red lead, and this makes them man and wife. Widow marriage does not need even this amount of ceremonial. The man is generally expected to repay to the relations of the first husband what they have spent on the first marriage; in the case of the levirate this compensation is, of course, not paid.

5. The real vagrant Sânsiyas often merely expose their dead in

the jungle. In Aligarh it is said that the

Death ceremonies.

Chanduwāla Sânsiyas cremate the corpse; with the others burial is the rule. Where they bury their dead they seem to have come under the influence of the example of their Muhammadan neighbours. Some members of the tribe, who were deported to Mirzapur after the proclamation, professed to adopt the following rules:—A pice is put in the mouth of the corpse immediately after death as a viaticum, when it is washed and wrapped in a piece of new cloth, which should be five yards long, and carried by four men to the burial ground on a cot. The corpse is buried with the head to the West and the feet to the East. After bathing the mourners return home. The chief mourner remains apart for four days and cooks for himself. At every meal he lays some food outside his hut for the spirit of the deceased. On the fourth day the brethren are fed on rice, pulse, sugar, and *ghī*, and on the twen-

¹ Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 330, sqq.

tieth and fortieth day, the four men who carried the corpse to the grave are fed in the same way.

6. The religion of the Sânsiyas is of a very elementary type.

Religion.

They have a vague idea of a great God, whom they call Bhagwân, or Parameswar, or Nârâyan; but of his character and functions they can give no satisfactory account. Some of them worship Devi or Kâli in the same vague way whenever they are sick or in trouble. They are, like all the allied races, continually in fear of the malignant ghosts of the dead, who, if not duly propitiated, turn into *Bhûts* or evil spirits and injure the survivors. They have nothing in the way of a *śrâddha*, and one way of propitiating the *Purkha log* or "sainted dead" is by feeding some of the unmarried girls of the tribe in their honour. They also have a vague belief in a godling known as Miyân, who may be Ghâzi Miyân or the saint of Amroha and Jalesar. He is, they say, the king of the serpents, and when they do honour to him they and their families are safe from snake bite. They believe, of course, in the demoniacal theory of disease, and when they fall sick call in a Syâna or Ojha to mark down the ghost, which is causing the mischief, and suggest the appropriate sacrifice which should be made to him.

7. They do not pay much regard to an oath on the Ganges or on the heads of their sons or daughters.

Oaths and ordeals.

They have three binding forms of oath: *First*, they kill a cock and pouring its blood on the ground swear over it; *secondly*, they throw some salt into a cup of spirits, and, throwing it on the ground, swear over it; *thirdly*, they crush a leaf of the *pîpal* tree in their hands and swear. When a woman is suspected of infidelity and denies the charge, she is made to undergo the following ordeal: Five leaves of the *pîpal* tree are placed on the palm of her hand, one over the other. She has then to take in her hand a red hot *gadaila* or "spud," which is the national implement of the tribe, and used by them in digging out vermin, etc. With this she has to walk five steps, and if her hand shows no sign of burning, she is pronounced to be innocent. Similarly, of the Kolhâtis of the Dakkhin, Major Gunthorpe writes:—"The ordeal men and women of this race have to pass through to prove their innocence, if they deny an accusation, are curious. For a woman seven leaves of the *pîpal* tree are placed, one over the other, in the open palms of both hands. A wet thread is wound seven times round both hands and leaves. An axe

made red hot is then placed on the leaves, and she bears it seven paces forwards and throws it into a bundle of thorns. Should the metal have penetrated the leaves and burnt her hands, she is guilty ; but if not, she is considered innocent.”¹

8. The organization of these separate gangs, to which reference

has already been made, as practising a sort of
Gang system. rule of exogamy among themselves, is curious,

and may be illustrated by the condition of things which until recently prevailed in the Aligarh District. The Sânsiyas there used to be divided into seven gangs (*gol*), of which the leaders of five, *viz.*, those led by Roshaniya, Harro, Pâncho, Giyâso, and Kallu, were women ; and two were led by men, Hariya and Lachiya. The reason that women so often command Sânsiya gangs is because so many of the males are habitually in jail. Of these the gangs of Roshaniya, Harro, Pâncho, Giyâso, and Hariya used to be all one gang, which was known in the Mathura District as the gang of Sewa. His brother Mathura separated from him and formed a separate gang. On Sewa's death his gang broke up into two parts—one called after Teja, nephew of Sewa, and the other after Hulâsi, son of Sewa. When Hulâsi was imprisoned, the gang was called after his wife Bela ; and when Teja was also sent to jail, his gang was named after Roshaniya, wife of Belha, son of Sewa ; and when Mathura also got into trouble, his wife Pâncho took command of his gang. When the two sons of Harro, widow of Hulâsi, grew up, she started a separate gang of her own, and into this gang was absorbed the gang of Bela. Again, when Teja was released from jail, he formed a separate gang, which was known as that of his wife Giyâso. The gang known as that of Kallu sprang from a Nat woman who formed an amour with a Jât, and had a large family who followed the gypsy life of their mother and finally intermarried with Sânsiyas and became recognised members of the tribe. This gang is still known as Bânswâli, because its foundress used to dance on a bamboo (*bâns*). Finally, the gang known as Lachiya's, who were really Beriyyas from Nohkhera in the Etah District, came to Aligarh in recent years and became amalgamated with the regular Sânsiya gangs. All these facts are very significant in considering the question of the origin of the present Hindus. If, as we have good rea-

¹ *Notes on Criminal Tribes*, 49.

son to suspect, the same process of amalgamation of castes owing to sexual intrigue and the formation of caves of Adullam, like these existing vagrant tribes, has been going on for ages, the anthropometrical evidence in favour of the practical unity of the existing races ceases to be surprising.

9. That the Sânsiyas are one of the most audacious criminal tribes in the Province is now admitted and formed the justification for the recent stringent proceedings which have been taken against them. In the year 1890, they were all simultaneously arrested; the younger members were removed to a reformatory, and the elders distributed throughout the Province in the hope that they would adopt an honest course of livelihood, an expectation which has certainly not been realised. In the Upper Duâb careful enquiry conclusively proved that they had no other means of livelihood except dakâiti, road robbery, thefts from vehicles, threshing floors and persons sleeping in the fields. In the course of their operations, unlike the Hâbûra or Beriya, they were always ready to commit violence, and have been known to cause serious bodily injury and even death with the heavy bludgeons, which in recent years they had substituted for short clubs which they carried when they first came in contact with our Police, and which soon became an inconvenient means of identifying them and were consequently abandoned. When bent on highway robbery, their usual *modus operandi* was to hide by the side of the road and suddenly attack passengers or the drivers of vehicles with showers of stones. If this failed to compel them to abandon their property, they fell on them with their bludgeons. Another device was to disguise themselves as constables, and in the course of a mock search to rob travellers. They do not usually take the plundered property to their camp for a considerable time, but bury it at a distance. They use the railway freely in going to and returning from the scene of crime. On their journey they do not stay at *sardis* or other recognised halting-places, but encamp outside a village or town, and, being well dressed, pretend to be Banjâras or merchants. Their operations extend to a very considerable distance, and some few years ago a series of dakâities in the Panjâb was traced to one of the Aligarh gangs.

10. They dispose of stolen property through Kalwârs and Sunârs; they will not take it with them to the shop, the intending purchaser has to accompany them to the jungle, and, strange to say, the Sânsiya is usually found very honest in such transactions. If

they take stolen property into their camp, the jewelry is deposited in the hollow legs of their beds, and the clothes hidden as stuffing of quilts, etc. The women sometimes appropriate some of the stolen jewelry for their own use, and when a search is made hide it in a way which cannot be described. Other jewelry is generally at once broken up. On arrest both men and women habitually give false names in order to conceal their identity, and hence the men greatly dread the punishment of flogging, as it marks them; for this reason they generally behave themselves well in jail so as to avoid corporal punishment. They are very averse to incriminating each other; if any of them turn approver, he is tried by the tribal council. The usual penalty is a fine of one hundred rupees for every person he has incriminated, and if he cannot pay the fine they will realize it by seizing his property or even a marriageable daughter. They never dare in such cases to complain to a Magistrate. In fact all their disputes are settled by the council, and they are never seen in Court. When a member of a gang is arrested, his companions will provide for his wife and family, and when any stolen property has been acquired, the wife of a man arrested gets her husband's share.

11. Owing to the constant absences of the men on thieving excursions and in jail, the women have gained a position of unusual influence in the tribe.

Many of them, as we have seen, become leaders of gangs. They are, as a rule, affectionate, faithful wives, and the men are very much influenced by their advice. When a party of Police approaches a camp, the women all commence to call out at once *bhītari ! bhītari !* "To your tents!" which is the signal for the men to escape. While search is being made, the women will resist to the utmost of their power, and they are in the habit of throwing all sorts of filth over the officers engaged, hence all Police dread the duty of searching a Sânsiya camp. Another plan is to take their babies in their arms and fling them round their heads in the hope that the search will be discontinued to save the lives of the children. They have a thieves' argot very like that of the Hâbûras. Of the corresponding dialect in the Panjâb it has been shown by Dr. Leitner¹ that it is not a real patois, but merely a perversion of Panjâbi according to a regular system. This is also certainly the case with the argot of these Provinces.

¹ *Analysis of Abdul Ghafâr's Dictionary*, 17.

12. There seems little doubt that the real vagrant Sânsiya will eat all kinds of meat, vermin and the leavings of almost any tribe except perhaps sweepers.

Social habits.

In Aligarh it is reported that they will eat with sweepers when engaged with them in the commission of crime. Those who are beginning to settle down claim, however, a much greater degree of purity and pretend not to eat *kachchi* except from high castes like Brâhmans, Râjputs and Banyas. The vagrant branch of the tribe live under portable reed mats (*sirki*). The men, as a rule, sleep till 9 A. M., sleep again during the day, eat again at 5. P. M. and then spend the night on the prowl. The women help by going about begging and pretending to sell roots and other jungle medicine; they thus obtain entrance into respectable houses and obtain information which is of use to their male relations. They are very fond of dogs and keep a number of them to guard the camp. The camp is usually pitched on one of the high sandy ridges which are such a prominent feature in the landscape of the Upper Duâb. They are no doubt guided in this by sanitary considerations and the sand is a convenient hiding place for property and the meat and hides of stolen animals. They themselves keep numerous bullocks and donkeys which they use for the carriage of their huts and goods, as well as cows and goats for milk; these they habitually let loose in the fields adjoining their camp. Hence the Sânsiya is not by any means a favourite visitor to a respectable village, and they could not wander about with impunity, as they were in the habit of doing, were it not that they were protected by landowners and merchants who shared in their plunder. Every true Sânsiya woman must have her ears bored, and some time ago this fact was used in Court to prove the identity of a kidnapped girl.¹

*Distribution of the Sânsiyas according to the Census of 1891.*²

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Sahâranpur	3,043	...	3,043
Muzaffarnagar	71	3	74

¹ Reports *Nisâmat Addlat; Mussammat Darbo*, 10th April 1852.

² This, of course, does not represent the present distribution of the caste since they were brought under the operations of the Criminal Tribes Act.

Distribution of the Sânsiyas according to the Census of 1891—concluded.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL
Meerut	852	...	852
Bulandshahr	36	...	36
Agra	16	...	16
Etâwah	1	...	1
Bijnor	12	...	12
Budâun	5	...	5
Morâdâbâd	26	...	26
Cawnpur	49	...	49
Rânda	5	...	5
Hamirpur	15	...	15
Tarâi	19	...	19
Lucknow	10	...	10
Kheri	20	...	20
Bahrâich	13	...	13
Sultânpur	91	...	91
Patâbgah	3	..	3
TOTAL	1,287	3	4,290

Sâraswati.—A tribe of Brâhmans who take their name from the river Sâraswati, the lost river of the Indian desert. It now loses itself in the sands near Bhatner in Rajputâna, and by devout Hindus is supposed to flow underground until it joins the Ganges and Jumna at the sacred confluence of Prayâg at Allahâbâd. One legend accounts for its disappearance in the sand by telling how Mahâdeva, the father of Sâraswati, in his drunken passion attempted to violate her modesty, and she dived under the earth to escape his attack. The river gained its name from Sâraswati, the goddess of learning, under whose auspices the sacred literature of the Hindus assumed shape and authority. This river

appears to have been to the early Hindus what the Ganges, which is named only twice in the Veda, became to their descendants¹

2. The Sâraswatîs, who in these Provinces are found principally in Agra, Mathura, Aligarh and Morâdâbâd, are ranked among the Pancha Gauda and are the chief Brâhmans of the Panjâb proper. Dr. Wilson² gives a list of their sections which are said to number no less than four hundred and sixty-nine. Mr. Sherring,³ on information received from Benares, divides them into four great classes, the Panjâtî, who should by their name have five clans, the Ashtthans, with eight clans, the Barahi, with twelve clans, and the Bâwanjâtî, with fifty-two clans. It has, however, been found quite impossible to secure a complete and consistent account of these *gotras*. As Pandit Râdhâ Krishna, Dr. Wilson's authority, admitted, such a list could only be prepared by the collation of the registers kept by the Pandas of Haidwâr, Thânesar and Mathura, who keep genealogies of every family of note, any member of which has visited the holy place within the last three or four centuries.

3. After the bride has come to live with her husband the first period of menstruation which occurs is a season of rejoicing. The women of the household and their friends assemble and sing songs of joy, sweetmeats are sent to the houses of friends. On the fourth day when the bride is pure, she is bathed and dressed in her best clothes and jewelry, and in the evening her husband's sister leads her and her husband into a room where they are shut up together for the night. When pregnancy occurs, at the end of the third or fifth month, the tribal deities are worshipped and an offering of sweetmeats made of rice and sugar is made to them, which after dedication are distributed to the friends of the family. At the completion of the seventh or ninth month the same rite is performed on a more extensive scale. When the child is born the *nandî mukhî srâddha* for the propitiation of the sainted dead of the household is done. A Chamârî is called in who cuts the umbilical cord, which she buries under the bed on which the mother lies. The mother and child are bathed and the eldest woman of the family plasters with

¹ Wilson, *Vishnu Purâna*, Preface LXVII, Muir, *Ancient Sanskrit Texts*, V, 338.

² *Indian Caste*, II, 124, sqq.

³ *Hindu Castes*, I, 62, sqq.

cow-dung the place where the cord has been buried and scatters some washed rice over it. Then the friends assemble and each of them gives a pice or two to the Chamârin as a reward for cutting the cord (*nârkaṭāi*). Songs are sung on this occasion. The baby does not suck its mother's breast for three days after birth; in the interval it drinks cow's or goat's milk. On the fourth day one of the women friends washes the mother's breast and receives a present. Then the child begins to suck. The Chamâr midwife remains in attendance until the fifth day and is then succeeded by the barber's wife, who remains till the twelfth day. On the evening of the sixth day the women assemble and make images of men and women on the wall, which are worshipped by the mother. On that day, for the first time, she eats grain. Up to that time she is given fruit and milk. On the eleventh day she is bathed and puts on fresh clothes and then worships the tribal deities. This rite is done in the family kitchen. In the evening she cooks *kuchehi* and distributes it to the relatives and friends. After this, under the guidance of the family priest, she worships Ganesa and the Navagraha or nine planets. She sits down with her husband and their garments are knotted together as at the time of marriage. The baby is also dressed in fresh clothes. The mother again bathes on the twentieth, thirtieth and fortieth days, and on these occasions Ganesa is worshipped again with an offering of the *halwa* sweetmeat. This is distributed among the friends of the family. After the fortieth day the birth impurity is finally removed.

4. At the sixth month comes the "grain feeding" (*anna, prāsana*). This is done on the eighth or ninth

Childhood rites.

day of the waxing moon. The eldest member

of the family takes the child in his or her lap and makes the baby sip a little food, usually rice milk (*khi*) off a rupee, which becomes the perquisite of the person who feeds him. After a year the rite of "the year knot" (*baras gāuth*) is performed. Some *halwa* sweetmeat is cooked in a pot, in which is then placed some red powder (*rori*) and washed rice. A little *halwa* is offered to Ganesa and the rest is distributed to friends. This rite is done on every subsequent birth-day until the fifth. In the third or fifth year the ceremonial shaving (*mūran*) is done in the usual way. The women take the child to a shrine, worship the razor of the barber and the mother takes the child in her lap and gets him shaved. The

kanchhedan, *kandēḥa* or ear piercing is often done at the same time. The child makes an offering to the family god, sweets are distributed and songs are sung.

5. The marriage rites are of the usual form. As a rule the bride does not live with her husband until after the *gauna* rite which takes place after one, three,

Marriage rites.

five, or seven years from the marriage. During the first year certain gifts are sent to her from her house on festivals. The technical phrase is *teohār bhejna*. Thus at the Kujari feast in the month of Sâwan, her husband's friends send her a coloured sheet (*chundari*), some henna (*mehndi*), fine clothes, cards and backgammon (*ganjīfa*, *chausar*), sweetmeats and cakes, cowries and dice, red powder and coloured rice. The bride's family also send some clothes for the mother of the bridegroom. Similar gifts are sent at the Holi.

6. The *gauna* (Sanskrit *gamana* "going") generally takes place in Aghan or Phalgūn. The husband and his friends go to the bride's house and are entertained on choice food in a place (*janwān-sa*) arranged for their reception. When the auspicious moment arrives, the bridegroom in his best clothes and with a sword in his hand, possibly a survival of marriage by capture, goes to the house of the bride. In the courtyard a platform is made on which a water jar (*kalas*) and images of Gauri and Ganesa are placed. The garments of the pair are knotted together and in the knot some betel-nut, turmeric, and money are placed. The bridegroom sits in a square (*chaut*) with the bride behind him and Gauri and Ganesa are worshipped. The bride's hand is placed on that of her husband and the Pandit repeats texts. Her mother comes up with a dish containing red powder (*rori*), sweetmeats, and money, and marking his forehead with the powder, puts the sweets and money in the corner of his sheet. The Pandit sprinkles water over the pair with a wisp of *Kusa* grass and the bride and bridegroom go to the *janwān-sa*. The barber's wife carries a tray full of large *laddu* sweetmeats. The girl's father stands before the father of the boy and says:—"I place my daughter under your protection. I am to blame in everything. My daughter will serve you." The girl's mother says the same to the boy's mother and both of them accompany this appeal with a money present. Then the bride returns to her father's house and weeps and embraces each of her female relations. She is given a box containing the *sohāg* or paraphernalia of a married woman, sweets, bangles, red lead, etc., which are taken with her by a

woman. Half the dowry is paid in cash by the father of the bride who after blessing the pair dismisses them.

7. When the pair get home they are met at the door by a female servant with a pitcher of water into which they drop some copper coins. The bride's mother-in-law then looks at the bride's face and gives her a present, known as *mukh dikhâdi*. The other female friends do the same. Two or three days after the pair worship the Ganges and the family deities and the rite is concluded.

8. The corpses of the boys who have not been invested with the Brâhmanical cord and those of unmarried girls are wrapped in a clean sheet and thrown into a river. No rites are performed for the propitiation of their ghosts. The adult dead are cremated in the usual way. The younger brother usually fires the pyre of his elder brother; or this duty is performed by the father, which is the greatest misfortune which can befall him. The only difference between the customs of the Sâraswata and Sarwariya Brâhmans in this respect is that the former feed Brâhmans (*brahm bhaj*) on the seventeenth and the latter on the thirteenth day after death. It is also peculiar to them that when an old man dies they make rejoicings. The head of the corpse is smeared with red powder and sprinkled with red water. It is carried to the cremation ground to the sound of music, and from the date of death up to the tenth day the women sing, and sweetmeats and betel are distributed. For a year after on the day of death a Brâhman is fed.

9. In Bombay the Sâraswati Brâhmans are known as Shenavi, which seems to be a corruption of Chhiânâvê as they are supposed to have ninety-six sections. "In Gujarât, besides acting as family priests, they follow many callings, reading holy books, drawing horoscopes, teaching private schools, trading, and serving as accountants, soldiers and constables. Once the holders of high offices, they have long lost their special position, and are now degraded, eating with and serving as the family priests of Kshatriyas, Lohânas, and Bhansâlis, whom they say they saved from Parasurâma's persecutions. In religion Saivas and goddess worshippers, (their chief deities being Ambika, Asapurna, Bhawâni, Kumâri, and Mahâ-lakshmi) their family deity is Sâraswati, whose chief place of worship is on the river of the same name. Not careful to keep the ordinary Brâhman rules, they allow widow marriage, and freely

The Shenavis of
Bombay.

travel across the seas to collect payments for their patrons, Cutch Vânya traders settled in Mozambique and Africa.¹

“ Dr. Wilson says that they are Shukla Yajurvedis. In using animal food they abstain from that of the cow and tame fowls ; but eat sheep, goats, deer, wild birds of most species, and fish killed for them by others. They also eat onions and other vegetables forbidden in the Smritis. They are generally inattentive to sectarian marks. They dress like the Hindu merchants and Amins of Sindh, though using white turbans. They shave the crowns of their heads, but have two tufts of hair above their ears. Their physiognomy is supposed by some to be not so distinctly of the Aryan type as that of other Brâhmans. They are partial to the Gurmukhi written character used in the Panjâb.”

10. In these Provinces they are the special family priests of the Khattris. They have in recent times commenced to intermarry with the Gaur.

*Distribution of Sâraswati Brâhmans according to the
Census of 1891.*

DISTRICTS.	Number	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	8,261	Bijnor . . .	714
Sahâranpur . . .	1,278	Budâun . . .	1,623
Muzaffarnagar . . .	500	Morâdâbâd . . .	3,901
Meerut . . .	2,461	Shâhjahânpur . . .	271
Bulandshahr . . .	1,016	Pilibhit . . .	89
Aligarh . . .	8,136	Cawnpur . . .	615
Mathura . . .	7,419	Fatehpur . . .	52
Agra . . .	2,943	Bânda . . .	31
Farrukhâbâd . . .	386	Hamîrpur . . .	20
Etâwah . . .	290	Allahâbâd . . .	259
Etah . . .	230	Jhânsi . . .	397
Bareilly . . .	1,239	Jâlaun . . .	22

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, V, 48.

*Distribution of Saraswatī Brāhman's according to the Census of
1891 —concluded.*

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Lalitpur . . .	10	Sitapur . . .	174
Benares . . .	2,586	Hardoi . . .	172
Jaunpur . . .	32	Kheri . . .	124
Ghāzipur . . .	48	Faizābād . . .	306
Gorakhpur . . .	33	Gonda . . .	23
Kumaun . . .	1	Bahrāich . . .	150
Garhwāl . . .	26	Sultānpur . . .	16
Tarāi . . .	102	Partābgarh . . .	6
Lucknow . . .	1,069	Bārabanki . . .	46
Unāo . . .	317		
Rāi Bareli . . .	55	TOTAL .	47,989

Sarbhangi.—An order of Hindu ascetics who are said to take their name from their complete isolation (*sarva-bhanga*) from all others. There seems to be little or nothing to distinguish them from the ordinary Bairāgi.

Distribution of the Sarbhangis according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Muzaffarnagar . . .	29	Lucknow . . .	5
Shāhjahanpur . . .	1	Sitapur . . .	1
Pilibhit . . .	1	Kheri . . .	3
Fatehpur . . .	1	Bahrāich . . .	2
Hamirpur . . .	4		
Jhānsi . . .	9	TOTAL .	56

Males . 44
Females . 12

Sarpakariya.—A Rājput sept found in Azamgarh who say they are descended from a serpent (*sarpa*). Some of them are Chhatris and some Bhuinhārs. They are of low standing among Rājputs, but rank high among Bhuinhārs.¹

Sarwariya.—A division of the Kanaujiya Brāhmins, who take their name from living beyond the river Sarju (*Sarjupdr*, *Sarayu-pdra*). They say themselves that they settled on the east of the river Sarju in the time of Rāja Aja, grand-father of Rāma. Mr. Risley² gives from Bihār a legend of their origin which as he says “throws light upon the part which misunderstood tradition may play in the growth of popular tradition. Once upon a time there were two brothers, Kanha and Kubja; they lived in Kanauj, and their descendants were called Kanaujiya Brāhmins. Now Rām Chandra, King of Ajudhya, wished to perform the great sacrifice of a horse, and sent for the Kanaujiya Brāhmins to help him. When they were starting, their father made them promise not to take any present for what they were going to do. But it seems that the sacrifice was of no effect unless the Brāhmins were duly rewarded. The Rāja knew this, and caused diamonds to be hidden in the packets of betel which he gave to the Brāhmins. When they got home their father asked them if they had taken any presents, and they said they had not. But when the packets of betel were opened the diamonds were found, and these Brāhmins were at once turned out of their caste, so they went back to the king, ready to curse him for his treachery. But he appeased them with smooth words and with grants of land to dwell on, and the grants were made in this way. The king shot an arrow as far as he could, and the place where it fell was the boundary of the land. Now the name of an arrow is *sar* so these Brāhmins were called Sarwariya.”

2. The Sarwariya Brāhmins have the usual Brāhmanic organisation of sections (*gotra*) and local groups (tribal organisation. *diś*); there are two superior sections in these Provinces:—

1. Garga *gotra*, called Sukla with the following groups (*diś*): Māmchor, Mehra, Bhenri, Bakrua, Kanail, Majhganwa.

¹ *Settlement Report*, 29.

² *Tribes and Castes*, I, 157.

2. Gautama *gotra* ; title Tivâri ; sections Sarya, Sohgaure, Dhatura, Deoriya, Sirjam, Chetiya. The last are properly speaking Tivâris of Burhiya Bâri, of Gorakhpur. Below these are thirteen inferior sections:—

1. Vatsya *gotra* ; title Misra ; *di*h Payâsi.
2. Vatsya ; title Dûbê ; *di*h Samadari, Sarari.
3. Kasyapa ; title Dûbê ; *di*h Brihatgrâma.
4. Kasyapa ; title Misra ; *di*h Dharmapura.
5. Gautama ; title Gurdaban Dûbê ; *di*h Kanchani.
6. Savarna ; title Pânre, Panreya ; *di*h Itiya.
7. Savarna ; title Pânre, Panreya ; *di*h Itâri.
8. Kasyapa ; title Pânre ; *di*h Triphala.
9. Gard Mukha Sandilya ; title Tivâri ; *di*h Pinri, Nadâwali, Târa, Majauna.
10. Vatsya ; title Pânre ; *di*h Nâga Chauri.
11. Vatsya ; title Misra ; *di*h Ratanmâla.
12. Vatsya ; title Tivâri ; *di*h Pâla.
13. Kasyapa ; title Misra ; *di*h Rârhi.

In addition to the above there are some whose claim to rank among the higher Sarwariya Brâhmins is not fully accepted. Such are the Parwa Dûbê of Kantit, the Pâthak of Sonaura, the Tiwâri of Bhargo, the Ojha of Karaili, the Pânre of Thokawa, the Upâdhyâya of Khoriya, the Chaubê of Nepura, the Dûbê of Latihai. These Brâhmins, however, intermarry with the higher grade Sarwariya.

3. Sarwariya Brâhmins pay much regard to their *pânti* or rank which now hardly means anything more than a certain amount of prejudice in the matter of eating and drinking only with persons of equal or superior rank. The Pantihâ Brâhmins will not eat *pakki* cooked by Kshatriyas ; on the other hand those who are not Pantihâ will eat *pakki* cooked by Kshatriyas whose lineage is undoubted. Pantihâ Brâhmins will not allow their women to use the flour mill or rice pounder, and would rather die than get the work of preparing the grain done by their women. But the number of Pantihâs is said now to be so rapidly diminishing that they find it difficult to marry without violating the prohibited degrees. All have fallen into the lower grade known as Tutahâ or "broken," with a few exceptions. If a Pantihâ marries the daughter of a Tutahâ he falls into the status of the latter. Pantihâs at present belong only to the higher sections, those of Garga, Gautama and Sandilya. These

three of the highest grade are exogamous and so are the thirteen lower divisions ; but a kind of hypergamy prevails, and while the higher three divisions give daughters to the lower, they do not take brides from them. The Pantihās of the lower grades exchange brides indiscriminately. But there is a constant effort to rise in the social scale on the part of those of inferior grade by contracting marriage alliances with those of higher status. When a man emigrates he takes his *diś* with him and the area of the group is thus constantly extending.

4. When a woman is five months gone in pregnancy she invites her mother-in-law and entertains her on Domestic rites : Birth. cakes, sweetmeats and milk. Five Brāhmins are also fed at the same time. The woman gives her mother-in-law a present of a sheet (*sāri*), petticoat (*lahnga*) and bodice (*choliya*), accompanied with a present in cash varying with the wealth of the family. If her father-in-law be alive she gives the garments suitable to a married woman ; if he be dead, only two white sheets are presented. Up to the eighth month of her pregnancy the expectant mother wears a blue sheet as a protective against the Evil Eye. At the end of the eighth month eight sweet cakes (*pua*) are sent to the houses of each of the near relations. From that day the woman gives up wearing her blue garment, and the mother lays her head at the feet of her mother-in-law and makes her a present of two rupees, known as *pānw lagdi*.

5. When the baby is born, if it be a boy, the *nandi-makkh srād-dha* is done as described in the case of other Brāhmins. The father, after this ancestor worship is over, binds the umbilical cord with his Brāhmanical thread and buries it in the confinement room. A fire is kept burning over it for six days ; during this time whoever wishes to enter the confinement room washes his feet and then dries them by holding them over fire. This repels the evil spirits which may have accompanied him from outside. This also keeps off the dreaded demon Jamhūa, which represents the infantile lock-jaw resulting from the cutting of the cord with a blunt instrument and the neglect of sanitary precautions. On the sixth day the mother bathes at an auspicious moment selected by the Purohit. She bathes again on the tenth and twelfth day and then acquires a sufficient degree of purity to allow her to be touched by her relatives. But she cannot touch the drinking water of the family, or cook for them. On the day the child is born the mother-

in-law puts in an earthen pot the seeds of the *Embelia ribes* (*bāḍ birang*) and water, and in another *nīm* leaves and water. The former is drunk by the mother and she uses the second for bathing. On the third day the mother-in-law grinds some pepper (*pīpar*) and gets two rupees as a present. On the sixth day the mother dyes seven or nine sheets with turmeric; one is given to the Chamârin, Nâin, and Bârin, and the rest to the wives of Brâhmans. The Pandit who prepares the horoscope is also rewarded and a sheet is given to the Dhobin who washes the clothes used at the delivery. People of other castes will not drink water at the house of a man whose wife has been delivered for twelve days. On the twelfth day the house is cleaned, the old earthen vessels replaced and the birth impurity is removed.

6. When the baby is a month old it is bathed and a piece of red thread tied as an amulet round the wrists, feet, waist, and neck. Each thread has seven tassels, three yellow and four red. These threads are changed every month up to the sixth month when they are replaced by ornaments of gold or silver which are also regarded as protectives against demoniacal influence. The ornaments for a child consist of bangles (*kara*) on the wrist and feet, a waist chain (*kardhani*), and a necklace (*humel, kakula*) to which are attached seven charms (*yantra*). Then the child is dressed in a coat and cap and the *anna-prâsana* rite or "feeding with grain" is performed as elsewhere described. At the first birthday what is known as the *varsha karm* is done. The child is made to drink a mixture of milk and sesamum which is first offered to the tribal goddess.

7. After the third year the ceremonial shaving (*mûuran*) is done.

The shaving.

For three days before the rite the women sing, a small silver razor is made costing a rupee and a quarter. The child is rubbed with the condiment known as *ubtan* during this time. On the third day the barber touches the child's head with the silver razor and then shaves the head with his own razor. The mother holds the child in her lap and receives the hair as it falls on a broad wheaten cake. She preserves the hair till she has occasion to go to Prayâg when she lets it float away in the sacred junction (*Triveni*) of the rivers. With the hair ten copper coins are also thrown into the stream. At the fifth year the ear-piercing (*kanchhedan*) is done at some favourite shrine.

8. The marriage and death rites are of the usual type as elsewhere. Other domestic rites: where described.

9. Of the Sarwariya Brāhmans of Gorakhpur Dr. Buchanan¹

Social customs.

writes :—" The Sarwariya Brāhmans, and all the sacred order here imitate their example, do not eat rice cleaned by boiling, that is purchased in the market. What is cleaned without boiling may be anywhere purchased ; yet the distinction is very slight, for the Brāhman women never clean the rice themselves, and low women are employed to boil the rice before it is cleaned. The conscience is saved by this operation being performed in the Brāhman's house, and by the water used being drawn and carried home in his vessels, for this is done by the low women employed to clean the grain. The Brāhmans here in general decline to eat parched grain purchased from a shop, and sweet-meats consisting of grain and sugar fried in oil they altogether reject ; but they use the confections made of sugar and curds, and they carry grain to the parchers' shop, who prepare it before them, and this they eat without scruple. They never eat either of these refreshments without purifying the place on which they sit with cow-dung and water ; a ceremony which elsewhere is only considered necessary at regular meals. They eat goat's flesh both when sacrificed and when killed on purpose, but will not purchase a joint from the shop of a professed butcher. They also eat deer, porcupines and hares, partridges, quails, pigeons, turtle doves, and wild ducks of several kinds.

" It is admitted that according to the written law they might eat wild hog, lizards, turtles and wild pullets, but anyone who presumed to do so would infallibly lose caste. Two or three Pandits are shrewdly suspected of drinking in the worship of the goddess, but they keep it as secret as possible, as, if clearly proven, they would undoubtedly lose caste. The Brāhmans and all the women, except of the lowest dregs of impurity, never smoke tobacco except as a medicine ; but for this restraint they make up by chewing. Brāhmans may without loss of caste intoxicate themselves with hemp ; but it is only used to any considerable extent by those who have abandoned the pleasures of the world for a religious life."

¹ *Eastern India*, II, 472.

*Distribution of Sarwariya Brāhmans according to the Census
of 1891.*

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Dehra Dūn . . .	219	Pilibhīt . . .	355
Sahāranpur . . .	273	Cawnpur . . .	835
Muzaffarnagar . . .	108	Fatehpur . . .	6,436
Meerut . . .	255	Bānda . . .	57,392
Bulandshahr . . .	38	Hamīrpur . . .	237
Aligarh . . .	615	Allahābād . . .	177,975
Mathura . . .	200	Jhānsi . . .	251
Agra . . .	111	Jālaun . . .	28
Farrukhābād . . .	807	Lalitpur . . .	64
Mainpuri . . .	239	Benares . . .	77,196
Etāwah . . .	101	Mirzapur . . .	152,341
Etah . . .	98	Jaunpur . . .	146,345
Bareilly . . .	235	Ghāzipur . . .	29,936
Bijnor . . .	120	Ballia . . .	12,630
Budāun . . .	73	Gorakhpur . . .	241,791
Morādābād . . .	79	Basti . . .	185,086
Shāh-jahānpur . . .	218	Azamgarh . . .	108,728

*Distribution of Sarwariya Brâhmans according to the Census of
1891 — concluded.*

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Tarâi	17	Faizâbâd	104,937
Lucknow	1,932	Gonda	197,993
Unâo	303	Bahâich	41 322
RÂê Bareli	23,144	Sultânpur	155,534
Sitapur	636	Partâbgarh	123,039
Hardoi	527	Bârabanki	18,565
Kheri	474	TOTAL	1,909,277

Satnâmi.¹—A Hindu religious order who take their name from their invocation of Satyanâma, "The God of truth." There are at least two classes of people called by the same name.

2. There is first, the sect founded by Jag-Jiwan Dâs of Sardaha in the Bârabanki District, who was born in 1682 A.D. He was a Chandel Thâkur, and his chief disciples were Gusâin Dâs, an Upâdhya Brâhman, Devi Dâs, a Chamar Gaur Thâkur, Dulam Dâs, a Sombansi Thâkur and Kheni Dâs, a Tiwâri Brâhman. He established some connection with Islâm; and two of his disciples were of that creed. They profess to adore the True Name alone, the one God, the Cause and Creator of all things, void of sensible qualities (*nirguna*), without beginning or end. They borrow, however, their notions of creation from the Vedânta philosophy, or rather from the modified form in which it is adapted to vulgar apprehension; worldly existence is illusion or the work of Mâya, the primitive

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, VIII, 289 sqq.; *Oudh Gasetteer*, I, 362; *Wilson, Essay*, I, 356; *Central Provinces Gasetteer*, 412.

character of Bhawâni, the consort of Siva. They recognise, accordingly, the whole Hindu pantheon, and although they profess to worship but one God, pay reverence to what they consider manifestations of his nature visible in the Avatâras, particularly Râma and Krishna. Their moral code is much the same as that of all Hindu ascetics, and enjoins indifference to the world, its pleasures and its pains; devotion to the spiritual guide; clemency and gentleness; rigid adherence to truth; the discharge of all ordinary social or religious obligations, and the hope of final absorption into the One Spirit with all things. There is thus but little difference between them and some of the Vaishnava sectaries. The sacred book of the sect is the Aghavinsa or "Sin remover." The Bâba died at Kotwa, five miles from Sardaha in 1761 A.D. Meat, *masûr* pulse and intoxicating liquors are prohibited, as well as the egg-plant (*baingan*) at least locally. The story goes that Râja Devi Bakhsh, late Ta'aluqdâr of Gonda, married in the family of the high priest, and on the occasion of his marriage he was entertained as a guest with his whole suite. But he declined their hospitality unless served with flesh. The Satnâmis at last prepared a curry of *baingan*, pronounced a prayer upon it, and when served out, it was found to be flesh. From thenceforth the Satnâmis renounced the eating of *baingan* as a thing convertible into meat. Smoking seems to be allowed.

3. Caste distinctions are not lost by profession. On the contrary its professors seem to be careful not to interfere with caste prejudice and family customs. Fasts are kept, at least to a partial extent on Tuesday, the day of Hanumân, and on Sunday, the day of the Sun. A good deal of liberality is shown towards local superstitions. Incense is weekly burnt to Hanumân under the title of Mahâbîr, whilst Râma Chandra seems to come in for a share of adoration. The water in which the Guru's feet have been washed is drunk only when the Guru is of equal or higher caste than the disciple. Satnâmis seem regularly to observe the festivals of their Hindu brethren. Their distinctive mark is the *andu*, or black and white twisted thread worn on the right wrist. The full-blown Mahant wears an *andu* on each wrist and each ankle. Their caste mark (*tilak*) is a black, perpendicular streak. The bodies of the dead are buried, not cremated. Marriage customs are those of the family to which the Satnâmi belongs.

4. The other class, known by the name of Satnâmi, are the Râê Dâsi Chamârs of parts of the Central Provinces. The creed preached by Râê Dâs seems to have been very similar to that of Ghâsi Dâs, the celebrated Satnâmi teacher, who started the revival among the Chamârs some seventy years ago. This seems hardly to have reached these Provinces.

Distribution of the Satnâmis according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Muzaffarnagar . . .	109	Moradâbâd . . .	2
Meerut	2	Pilibhît	21
Bulandshahr . . .	54	Mirzapur	6
Farrukhâbâd . . .	1	Ghâzîpur	25
Mainpuri	3	Faizabad	26
Etah	1		
Bareilly	332	TOTAL	582

Saun—A tribe recorded at last Census to the number of 1 in Moradâbâd and 256 in the Tarâi. They represent in the hills the Kurmi of the plains and will do any kind of labourer's work except carrying palanquins. Their principal occupation is mining, and the reason they give for not carrying litters is that all castes will not drink water from their hands, though drinking it from the hand of the Kahâr.¹ In the Tarâi they show 63 sections. They claim to be a branch of the Khasiya Râjputs. They do not appear to be regularly domiciled in the Tarâi, but come in the cold weather for work and return in the hot season.

Sayyid; Sayyad—(said to be derived from *sâd*, "increase, gain") one of the four chief divisions of Muhammadans. They call themselves the descendants of the famous martyrs Hasan and Husain, the sons of Ali the fourth Khalîf, and Fâtima the daughter of the Prophet. How many of these are true Sayyids it is impossible to say. Many of them came with the early Muhammadan invaders and asserted some priestly pretensions which were in many

¹ Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III, 451.

cases rewarded by gifts of revenue-free land which their descendants still enjoy. Many of these now recorded as Sayyids have no real claim to the title. The common proverb quoted in the article on the Shaikhs says : " Last year I was a butcher, this year I am a Shaikh ; next year if prices rise, I shall become a Sayyid." According to Mr. Ibbetson¹ the apostles who converted the Pathâns to Islâm were called Sayyids if they came from the West and Shaikhs if from the East. The characteristic qualities of a Sayyid as described by Farishta on the occasion of his dissipating the doubt whether Khizr Khân, the protégé of Taimûr, was really a Sayyid, were modesty, politeness, hospitality, compassion, charity, learning and bravery ; but it is needless to say that few of the modern Sayyids reach this high ideal.

2. The tribal organisation of the Sayyids is confusing because

Tribal organisation.

some of the divisions take their name from an eponymous ancestor and some are merely territorial. At the last Census they were enumerated in a large number of divisions—Abbâsi, which is also one of the Shaikh subdivisions and takes its name from Abbâs, the paternal uncle of the Prophet ; Abidi, " worshippers of God ;" Bani Fâtima, the descendants of Fâtima, the daughter of the Prophet. She married Ali the cousin of Muhammad and was the mother of the martyrs Hasan and Husain from whom the Sayyids generally are said to be sprung ; Baqri (*baqar*, " an ox ") Bâghdâdi, " residents of Bâghdâd " ; Bukhâri, " residents of Bukhâra " ; Chishti, followers of the Saint Salîm Chisti of Fatehpur Sikri ; Hâshimi, also a Shaikh division, named after Hâshim, the great grandfather of the Prophet ; Hasani, from the martyr Hasan ; Hasani-ul-Husaini, from the two martyr brethren ; Husaini from Husain ; Ja'fari, also a Shaikh division, who take their name from Ja'far, one of the Imâms ; Jalâli possibly from Al-Jalâl, a term used by the Sûfi mystics to express that state of the Almighty which places him beyond the understanding of His creatures ; Qâdiriya, which is the name of a special sect who deny absolute predestination and believe in the power (*qadr*) of man's free-will ; Kâzimi (*Kâsim*, " the restrainer of anger ") ; Naqwi ; Pirzâda, " descendants of some saint ;" Riswi ; Sabzawâri from Sabzwâr one of the chief cities of the Persian Province

¹ *Panjab Ethnography*, para. 515.

Khurasân, between Mashad and the Caspian sea; Siddiqi, from As-Siddiq, "he who speaks the truth," a title given by the Prophet to the first Khalîf Abu Bakr; Taqwi, "the abstinent." Tirmîzi, residents of a place called Tirmîz in Persia; Ulwi or Ālawiya, who believe the Khalîf Ali to have been a prophet; Uskari and Zaidi.

3. Abul Fazl, Sayyid, of Wâsit in Irâq, is the ancestor of most of the renowned Muhammadan families in Upper India—the Bârha and Bilgrâmi Sayyids, and in Khairâbad, Fatehpur Haswa and many other places branches of the same stem are found. Sayyid Muhammad, the fourth in descent from him, was the ancestor of the Bilgrâm family.¹

4. The Sayyids of Jais in Râê Bareli are another famous Oudh family who are said to have been settled since the thirteenth century. They are well known for learning and the Mujtahids of Lucknow, literally "one who strives" to attain a high position of scholarship and learning, the highest degree among Muhammadan divines, belong to the family. The Bilgrâm Sayyids are also famous for having produced many poets and learned men. They claim to have invaded Oudh in the time of Shamsuddîn and to have founded Bilgrâm on the site of a city named Srinagar.²

5. But perhaps more famous are the Sayyids of Bârha³; Sâdat-i Bârha. They claim descent from Fâtima the daughter of the Prophet, and by one account came into these Provinces with Mahmûd of Ghazni. Their head-quarters are in the Muzaffarnagar District and a few colonies of them are found in Amroha of Morâdâbâd and Sikandra of the Allahâbâd District. There are various theories as to the origin of the name. Some say that, scandalised by the debaucheries of the Mîna Bâzâr of Delhi, which they considered unsuited to their sacred character, they obtained leave to reside outside (*bâhar*) of the town; others that it was the chief town of twelve (*bârah*) which belong to the clan. As Professor Blochmann remarks, whether the derivation from the Hindi numeral *bârah* be correct or not, there is no doubt that the etymology was believed to be correct in the time of Akbar and Jahângîr; for both the Tabaqât and the Tuzuk derive the name from the twelve

¹ *Hardoi Settlement Report*, 63; Elliot, *Chronicles of Undo*, 83.

² Williams, *Oudh Census Report*, 74.

³ Elliot, *Supplemental Glossary*; S. V. Blochmann, *Atn-i-Akbari*, I, 390; *Census Report*, 1865; N. W. P., I, 6, *Appendix*; Ibbetson, *Panjab Ethnography*, para. 515

villages in the Duâb of Muzaffarnagar, which the Sayyids held. Like the Sayyids of Bilgrâm, the Bârha family trace their origin to Sayyid Abul Farah of Wâsit; "but their *nasabnâma* or genealogical tree was sneered at, and even Jahângîr in the above-quoted passage from the Tuzuk, says that the personal courage of the Sayyids of Bârha, but nothing else, was the best proof that they were Sayyids. But they clung so firmly to this distinction, that some of them even placed the title of Sayyid before the titles which they received from the Mughul Emperors, as Sayyid Khân Jahân (Sayyid Abul Muzaffar) and others. But if their claim to be Sayyids was not firmly established, their bravery and valour has become a by-word. Their place in battle was the van (*hirdwal*), they claimed to be the leaders of the onset, and every Emperor from the time of Akbar gladly availed himself of the prestige of their name. They delighted in looking on themselves as Hindustânis. Their military fame completely threw to the background the renown of the Sayyids of Amroha, of Mânikipur, the Khânzâdas of Mewât, and even families of royal blood as the Safawais."

6. They are divided into four branches—the Tihanpurî with Jânsath in the Muzaffarnagar District as their chief town; the Chatbanûri or Châtrauri of Sambalhara; the Kûndliwâl of Majhara and the Jagneri of Bidauli on the Jumna. Of these, the Muhammadan historians mention only the Kûndliwâl and the Tihanpurî. Besides these divisions they have private marks of recognition which they say have been very successful in excluding impostors from the tribe. Particular families have a sort of totemistic designations, such as "dog," "ass," "sweepers," etc., which are said to be derived from the menial offices which some of the Sayyids of this family are reported to have performed for the Emperor Humâyun when reduced to extremities in his flight from Shîr Shâh. As Sir H. M. Elliot remarks: "the improbability of men assuming such humiliating designations without a good cause, gives some colour to the story; particularly when we learn the devotion of the Emperor's attendants, which is so amusingly described by his right reverential Aftâlohi, Jauhar, in the Tazkirat-ul-Vikaya."

7. "The histories of India," writes Professor Blochmann, "do not appear to make mention of the Sayyids of Bârha before the times of Akbar; but they must have held posts of some importance under the Sûrs, because the arrival of Sayyid Mahmûd in Akbar's

camp is recorded by all historians as an event of importance. He and other Sayyids were, moreover, at once appointed to high *mansabs*. The family boasts also traditionally of services rendered to Humâyun, but this is at variance with Abul Fazl's statement that Sayyid Mahmûd was the first who served under a Timuride. The political importance of the Sayyids declined from the time of Muhammad Shâh (1131 to 1161) who deposed the brothers Sayyid Abdullah Khân, and Sayyid Husam Ali Khân, in whom the family reached the greatest height of their power. What a difference between the rustic and loyal Sayyid Mahmûd under Akbar, and the above two brothers, who made four Timurides Emperors, dethroned and killed two and blinded and imprisoned three. They made Farûkh Siyar, Rafi'uddarajât, Rafi'uddaula, and Muhammad Shâh Emperors; they dethroned and killed Jahândâr Shâh and Farrukh Siyar, whom they had moreover blinded; and they blinded and imprisoned Princes A'azzuddîn, Ali Tabâr, and Humâyun Bakht."

Distribution of the Sayyids

DISTRICTS.	Abbasi.	Abdi	Bani Fatima	Baqri	Baghdadi.	Bukhari.	Chakri	Hachimi	Husaini	Husain ul-Husaini	Husaini	Jafri
Dehra Dûn .		29				47					177	
Sahāranpur .	3	4	2	2	3	1 598		271			1 899	58
Muzaffarnagar .	8	19	9	44		97	7	17		1	2 619	110
Meerut . .	8	17	8	9	12	902		8		22	1,883	306
Bulandshahr .	15	4	19		62	928	174	2			759	34
Aligarh . .				1	47	494	1	4			1 725	185
Mathura . .	3	3				120		4			240	66
Agra . .	54	128	18	2	4	111	16	40			1 056	278
Farrukhābād .	6	37	18	13	7	613				2	489	31
Mainpuri .	1					17	140	33			189	166
Etāwah . .	14	19	6	2	7	19				21	169	38
Etah . .	1	93	2		7	178		1			762	28
Bareilly . .	203	14	66		256	1,392	105	82		9	2 273	113
Bijnor .						715	2,773	100			1 948	32
Budāun . .		27		17	2	128		47			841	111
Moradabad .		253	15	230	12	83		4			10 607	153
Shāhjahānpur		1			21	501	29	16		656	710	36
Pilibhit . .	12	55	11		17	215	39	5	278	2		12
Cawnpur . .	40	205	1	4	2	312	..	36		14	827	420
Fatehpur . .	22	104	33	5	6	39	..			73	543	108
Bānda . .	19	75	16	4	1	59		9			9	50
Hamirpur . .	5	50	3	1	14	46		82		26	240	38
Allahābād .	42	289	7	1	13	137	9	104		26	1,491	362
Jhansi . .	54				31	31	20				113	16
Jālaun . .					3	8	75	20			51	12
Lalitpur . .						10					14	10
Benares . .	3	158		40		3			..		809	265
Mirzapur . .	1	..						34			495	90
Jaunpur . .						14		122			1,049	281
Ghāsiपुर . .	7				7	13					874	33
Ballia . .	29					17		153			151	
Gorakhpur .	1	231	31	1		72	4	..	..	7	474	49
Basti . .	..	67	71		771	11	..				1,304	9
Asamgarh .	37	56	6	1		12		20			2,123	222
Kumāun . .							..					..
Garhwal . .					..					..

according to the Census of 1891.

Jahli	Qadurya	Kuzaml.	Naqvi	Pirada	Qawi	Sabawari.	Siddiqi	Taqwi.	Tirmiz.	Ufwi.	Akari	7adi	Others.	Total.
2		1		56	7	7	10		...				202	631
19	125	180	47	8	150	180	6		653	78	16	127	1,133	6,546
5	107	766	108	35	46	302	25		231	110	95	5,236	2,659	12,659
80	87	296			2,801	220		41	51	37		500	2,708	10,086
2	9	8	633		1,430	29	29	915	14	23	.	57	727	5,873
	28	4		103	291	79	10	35		88			1,492	4,504
4			138		213		20		19			18	1,351	2,229
122	20	32	7		890		71	51	19	59	2	12	9,307	6,294
69	2	51	4	55	255		43	433	582	414	67	106	2,744	6,100
61	1	75		23	316	10	165	75	1	07		25	2,517	2,913
2	11	36	107		224				3	43			1,608	2,528
3	4	4	28	14	55	18	23		5	17	8	50	1,383	2,622
567	5	10			178	70			2		46	1,037	2,184	8,802
19		1		11	344	238		345	476	1		3,342	2,192	12,007
122		1	119		117	62						25	1,877	3,504
201	14	54	2,313		909	10			20	40		521	2,327	17,788
106	43	15		9	134			20	163	16			1,324	3,799
137		17			2	9	3	29	41	1		73	657	1,915
	63	61	10	18	1,099		110	84	57	60	3	53	3,456	6,927
51	21	39	204		130	102		715	31	95	5	368	1,999	5,026
28	24	28	118		453	4	42		8	8		47	1,177	2,597
640	12	61	13		72		39			17		28	1,096	2,463
156		546		31	4,141	230	42	1,152	12	100	1	304	4,131	13,507
20	21	10			88	..	33	32	39	5		87	1,065	1,691
3	23	26			85	5	24	28	15	24		17	1,063	1,511
1	2				36	4	11	4	6	1			268	367
		56	.		429					26	.		1,354	2,978
		35			220								1,325	2,209
4		58			1,005	2	40			112	96	561	1,445	4,318
6		284			336	216	23	22	271	24		189	976	3,280
					122	.	1				.		279	751
13	4	73	.	1	131	1	1	15	5	24		17	2,178	3,333
	31				1,811			51		14			2,647	6,290
7		324		3	940	19			137	629	137	473	1,690	6,836
		...	.	.								.	26	26
		.							..			...	41	41

Distribution of the Sayyids according

DISTRICTS	Abdasi	Abdi.	Bani Fatima	Baqri.	Baghdadi	Bukhari	Chishti.	Hashmi	Husain	Hasan ul Husaini.	Husaini.	Jafr.
Tarai . .			31			177					121	
Lucknow . .	4	1,909	17	121	..	58		94		170	1,507	379
Unao . .			3	29		41		68		112	169	119
Ras Bareilly . .		73	59			5	1	6		132	261	228
Sitapur . .	1	148	1	3		89	119	39		19	98	67
Haridwar . .	5	32				158				3	510	70
Kheri . .		54	1	.		84		19			211	131
Fauzabad . .	4	109	11			1		73			1,148	53
Gonda . .		70	99								160	66
Bahrach . .	2	102	18	47	19	11	40	27			230	175
Sultanpur . .		141	77		58	25		9			508	47
Paritabgarh . .	121	4	13			45		9		3	40	63
Barabanki . .			18	30	77	71					833	
TOTAL	725	4,519	631	710	1,457	9,705	3,163	1,555	278	1,292	44,062	5,111

to the Census of 1891.—concluded

Jalili	Qadriya.	Kusami.	Naqwi.	Pirada.	Qizwi.	Sabzwari.	Suddu.	Taqwi.	Tirmizi.	Ulw.	Akari.	Zahid.	Others.	Total.
	27							31		6			183	575
34	48	1,319		2	4 812		43	511	8	277	157	125	3,347	14,910
		69			833		108	315		52	38	283	1,525	3,753
		132	1,194	42	370	37	10		49	7		112	933	3 650
11		47		2	707			92		33	.	473	1,763	3 710
46	12	31	461		1 256				178	14		796	1 698	5,572
117		72	27	20	264				127	6		609	1 359	3 101
		161	756		2 116					325	..	935	2 308	9,104
					4 614			13		57		999	873	6 352
6	16	104	151		213	4)	3			67	1 6	301	1 352	3 229
		56		35	456	40		92		165		442	1 089	3 297
15	13	11	257		256	39	18			18		48	1 706	2,091
		151	60	94	2 542				1	504	80	610	2 447	7,517
2 671	740	5 403	6,813	512	37 896	1 962	153	5 193	1 228	3 792	846	19 102	79,709	242,811

Sejwâri.¹—A small caste found only in the Lalitpur District. The story told of their origin is that when Maharâja Devi Sinh, of Chanderi, went to attack Maler Kotla, he brought from there four boys, one of whom he appointed to arrange his bed (*sej*), whence their name. They enumerate fourteen exogamous sections :—Gadoi or Garoi ; Hâra ; Nachhniwâr ; Bhâradwaj ; Chobdâr ; Sâni ; Pachauri ; Sikhaiya ; Hardwâr ; Gond ; Kasâbka ; Sawâr ; Kachhwâr. They still regard Chanderi as their head quarters. They have a tribal council (*panchâyat*) of which the Panch or President is not hereditary, but is elected to act from time to time by the votes of the members.

2. A man may not marry in his own section nor the daughter of his maternal uncle or father's sister. He cannot marry or keep as a concubine a woman of another caste. He may marry two sisters. They generally marry their daughters in the sections from which they take their brides. Polygamy is allowed, and all the wives hold equal rank. Widows are allowed to marry. When a widow agrees to marry a man, she gives him her silver finger ring and he shows it to his brethren and informs them that he has arranged to marry such and such a widow. The giving of the ring is understood to mark the engagement and is known as *nânon*. After he brings home the widow he feeds his brethren. Girls have no liberty before marriage, and infidelity is punished by a fine on both parties. Until her parents pay the fine, the girl cannot be married in the tribe. Girls are married at the age of nine and boys at ten. The marriage is arranged by the girl's barber. A marriage is invalid without the consent of the girl and her parents. It is only widows who are allowed to select husbands for themselves. The girl's parents, if they can afford it, are expected to give her a dowry, the amount of which is fixed by the barber. A marriage cannot be annulled on account of any physical defects appearing in either party after the ceremony has been performed. A man can divorce his wife in the presence and with the sanction of the tribal council for habitual infidelity. Divorced women can marry again by the inferior form, and the children of divorced women who marry again, widows and regularly married brides rank equally for the purpose of inheritance. The levirate is allowed

under the usual restriction ; but the widow may, if she please, marry an outsider. When she does so, her husband's brother has the right of custody of the children of her first marriage, and they succeed to their father's goods, while their mother gets nothing. But if she marries the younger brother of her husband, she has a right to maintenance out of the estate of her first husband. There is no fiction whereby the children of the levir are affiliated to his late brother.

3. While a woman is pregnant, they rub her head with powdered gram and water ; but none of them can give an explanation of the custom. A woman of the Basor caste acts as midwife, and her place is then taken by the barber's wife. After the birth there are singing and dancing, and alms are distributed. When the child is a boy, the brethren are fed on the tenth day ; if it be a girl, on the sixth day. There is no trace of the *couvade*. The mother remains secluded after her confinement for only three days. They have no rule of adoption. When boys arrive at puberty, the hair of their faces and heads is shaved with great solemnity.

4. The marriage arrangements are made by the family barber. When the matter is settled, the bridegroom gives the barber a rupee as his fee. Then the wedding day is fixed, and once that is done the match cannot be broken off. The various stages are :—the *abtauni* or anointing of the pair ; the setting up of the marriage shed (*mânro*) ; the presentation of jewelry to the bride ; the marking her forehead with red lead (*sendûrdân*) ; the giving away of the bride (*kanyâdân*) and the revolution round the central pole (*bhanwar*). The binding portions of the ceremony are the walking round the shed and the giving away of the bride.

5. They burn their dead and throw the ashes into the Ganges. At the time of cremation they are particular to perform the rite of *ara* or *kapâlkriya* by breaking the skull to allow the spirit to reach the other world. They do not perform the regular *śrâddha*. But to remove his impurity, the officiating Brâhman makes the man who fired the pyre offer a sacred ball (*pinda*) to the manes of the dead. The death impurity lasts ten days, and that of a woman after her confinement for three days.

6. The Sejwâris do not adopt the tenets of any particular sect. Their priests are Jhijhautiya Brâhman and, like the Bundelas, whose servants

Domestic ceremonies.

Death rites.

Religion.

they are, they are worshippers of Râma and Krishna. The women worship snakes at the Nâgpanchami and the banyan tree at the Barsait festival. But they are not allowed to enter the temples of the higher Hindu gods. They are very much afraid of demons which they propitiate with offerings of cocoanuts and *atkwardi* or a mixture of eight ingredients, of which treacle, cardamoms, and turmeric are the chief part. They believe in the Evil Eye which can be obviated by moving some mustard and salt over the head of the child.

7. They will not touch Doms or Mehtars. They eat pork, mutton, deer's flesh, and fish. They will eat

Social rules.

only from the hands of Brâhmins and Râjputs and members of their own tribe. Their social rank is very low. They serve the Bundelas as menial servants, some serve as village watchmen and act as guards for bankers. A few cultivate lands as tenants without occupancy rights. At times of rejoicing, such as marriages and births, they get presents from their Bundela masters.

Distribution of the Sejwâri according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.										Number.
Lalitpur	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	386
TOTAL										386

Sengar.—A sept of Râjputs who, like the Gautam, claim descent from Singhi or Siringhi Rishi, whose daughter Basantiya is said to have been married to Somapâla, King of Kanauj. They say that their ancestor Pûran Deva emigrated to the Dakkhin and thence to Dhâr. From thence they were forced to go to Bandhugarh in Rîwa, and thence to Kanâr in Jalaun, near Jagmohanpur in Etâwah. Their Râja Bisukh Deva or Sukh Deva founded the modern house. His date lies between 1065 and 1165 A.D. He married Deva Kula, daughter of Jay Chand Râthaur, of Kanauj, and after his defeat by Shahâb-ud-dîn Ghori the power of the Sengars increased and the river Basindh was renamed Sengar in their honour.¹

¹ Census Report, North-Western Provinces, I, Appendix 81, sqq.

2. Their occupation of Oudh¹ dates from about 1527 A.D., when Shaikh Bayazîd, one of the Afghân generals of the Lodi Dynasty, submitted to Bâbar. This officer had in his service two Sengars from Jagmohanpur, across the Jumna, by name Jagat Sâh and Gopâl Sinh. They raised and commanded a cavalry regiment, which was cantoned near the village of Simri, in Pargana Asoha of the Unâo District, and after his defeat they settled quietly down in the Pargana, making Kantha their head-quarters. "For eleven generations they remained peaceably there, keeping the Lodhas, who had been the original proprietors, in subjection. During this time they were joined by another family of the same clan, who followed them from Jagmohanpur and settled in Parsandan. In the eleventh generation, the Lodhas, who had never thoroughly acquiesced in their loss of position, suddenly rose against the Sengars, and killed the majority of them, but allowed the women and children to escape. The fugitives did not think it safe to go to their brotherhood in Parsandan, but fled to Jagmohanpur, and returning thence with an accession of strength, the sons of the murdered Sengars, Askaran on Gopâl's side, and Garbu on Jagat Sinh's side, recovered their father's possessions in the country."

3. The Ghâzipur² branch trace their origin to Phaphûnd in Etâwah. They worship under the name of Nâth Bâba, a deified member of the tribe named Amar Sinh. Before the establishment of British authority they managed to secure for themselves an unrivalled reputation for courage, independence, and insubordination. They have now abandoned their old turbulent habits; they behaved well during the Mutiny, and are now loyal and peaceful citizens. In Jâlaun³ they claim to have come from Lanka or Ceylon and to be descended from Singhi Rishi. They seem to have been originally Brâhmanas who intermarried with Râjputs. According to General Sleeman,⁴ the Sengars are almost the only class of Râjputs in Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand, Rîwa, and Sâgar, who used to put their female infants to death; in Oudh they are almost the only sept who do not.

4. There is a tribe in Gujarât called Sanghar who are on perhaps doubtful authority, connected with them. They are more pro-

¹ Elliott, *Chronicles of Undo*, 45, sq.

² Oldham, *Memo.* I. 575, sq.

³ *Gazetteer North-Western Provinces*, I. 209.

⁴ *Journey through Oudh*, I, 312, note.

bably allied to the Panjāb Chhāngars and perhaps to the Zingari of Europe.¹

5. In Jālaun they give brides to the Chandel, Bais, Bisen, and Parihār septs, and marry their sons to the Kachhwāha, Bhadauriya, Rāthaur, Sisodiya, and Hāra. In Ballia they take brides from the Karchhuliya, Bisen, Donwār, Haihobans, Kākan, Raghubansi, Kausik, Nikumbh, Sakarwār, Udmatiya, and Pachhtoriya septs. They give their daughters to the Bais, Haihobans, Ujjaini, Kausik, Sirnet, Rāj Kumār, Sūrajbans, Parihār, Karchhuliya, Raghubansi, Sombansi, Udmatiya, Nikumbh, Barwār, Kinwār, Chauhān, Kākan and Pachhtoriya. Their gotra is said to be Gautam.

Distribution of the Sengar Rājputs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Numbers	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Muzaffarnagar	2	Lalitpu	100
Bulandshahr	56	Benares	79
Aligarh	74	Minzapur	42
Mathura	13	Jaunpur	8
Agra	171	Ghāzipur	1,913
Farrukhābād	1,451	Ballia	32,189
Mainpuri	619	Gorakhpur	1,553
Etāwah	11,164	Basti	213
Etah	28	Azamgarh	282
Budāun	21	Lucknow	73
Morādābād	43	Unāo	2,775
Shāhjānpur	21	Rāo Bareilly	716
Pilibhīt	43	Sitapur	183
Cawnpur	5,233	Hardoi	198
Fatehpur	1,028	Kheri	75
Pānda	395	Faizābād	163
Hamirpur	557	Gonda	15
Allahābād	595	Bahrāich	47
Jbānsi	601		
Jālaun	6,656	TOTAL	59,425

Shaikh, Shekh (an Arabic word meaning an "elder," "chief," "a venerable old man").—The name should properly be applied to tribes of pure Arab descent; but it has now been applied to a much more vulgar use, and is adopted by converts from the

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, V, 95, XIII, 713.

meaner Hindu tribes to Islâm. This is marked in the common proverb—*Peshayîn Qassâb bûdem, badazân gashtem Shaikh ; ghalla chun arzân shawad, imsdî Sayyid meshawem*—"The first year I was a butcher, the next a Shaikh ; this year, if prices rise, I shall be a Sayyid."

2. At the last Census the Shaikhs of these Provinces were enumerated in the following tribes :—Abbâsî, who take their name from Abbâs, the paternal uncle of Muhammad ; Ansârî from Al-' Ansâr, "the helpers," a term used for the early converts of Al-Madînah, but when all the citizens of Al-Madînah were ostensibly converted to Islâm, they were all named 'Ansâr, while those Muslims who accompanied the Prophet from Makkah to Al-Madînah were called Muhajirûn or "exiles" ; Bahlîm ; Bani Isrâîl or "children of Israel" ; Farîdî or followers of the famous Saint Bâba Farîd Shakkarganj of Pâk Puttan in the Montgomery District ; Farûqî, who take their name from the Khalîf Umar, surnamed Farûq, "the discriminator between truth and falsehood" ; Hâshimî, after Hâshim, the great-grandfather of Muhammad, who according to the tradition, was surnamed Hâshim on account of his liberality in distributing bread (*hashm*, "to break bread") to the pilgrims at Makkah ; Ja'fari after Ja'far, a cousin of Muhammad, who from his charity was called Abul Masâkin, "the father of the poor" ; or Ja'far, one of the twelve Imâms ; Khurasâni, "residents of the land of Khurasân" ; Kidwai ; Qureshi, after the Arabic tribe to which the Prophet belonged ; it is hence the favourite tribe to which persons of doubtful origin claim affinity, and many of them are probably not of genuine Arab descent ; Milki, probably the same as the Maliks, who were originally a Persian tribe, though more recently the word has been used as a title, like Khân or Beg ; Pîrzâda or "offspring of the saint" ; a term of very wide meaning which may mean the descendants or followers of any spiritual guide ; Siddîqî, who take their name from the first Khalîf, Abu Bakr, who received from the Prophet the title of As Siddîq or "one who speaks the truth" ; Sulaimâni from Solomon ; 'Ulwi or 'Alawîyah, who take their name from the Khalîf 'Ali Murtaza and 'Usmâni from 'Usmân, the fourth Khalîfa.

3. The Shaikhs, of course, follow, or pretend to follow, all the rules of Islâm. This the real Shaikhs do ; but those who are recent converts from Hinduism, maintain many of the practices of the castes from which they have been drawn.

Distribution of Shaikhs according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Abbasi.	Ansari.	Bahli.	Handal.	Fandi.	Fardqi.	Hadhami.	Jafar.	Kharasani.	Kidwai.	Qurehi.	Mulla.	Pirada.	Siddiqi.	Sulaiman.	Uwli.	Uwani.	Others.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dun	180	347	..	..	35	..	..	..	..	..	1,685	..	..	3,211	..	..	100	1,282	6,940
Saharanpur	99	3,555	22	8	1,077	17	..	..	2	..	4,164	163	..	10,807	..	7	836	2,269	23,146
Muzaffarnagar	77	1,068	24	2	698	85	..	..	85	1	5,163	..	33	10,078	1	230	443	1,935	19,794
Meerut	23	662	311	1	551	..	..	..	6	..	11,779	..	..	12,281	66	6	88	5,461	31,164
Bulandshahr	302	2,436	29	155	122	11	..	..	82	..	7,509	..	7	9,701	2	9	97	2,352	22,914
Aligarh	30	933	..	410	25	971	..	..	134	..	8,060	..	17	8,202	..	..	290	3,029	17,131
Mathura	27	79	48	45	61	..	..	1	191	..	9,618	..	..	2,833	..	..	16	6,075	12,964
Agra	20	341	119	55	3	407	8	1	229	..	14,231	2	..	6,016	1	5	159	11,359	92,965
Farrukhabad	336	252	161	20	27	226	..	..	4	33	10,145	10	3	10,307	23	43	322	4,920	26,624
Mainpuri	121	96	13	2	63	..	..	..	30	..	2,677	4	..	2,690	..	..	23	7,652	13,306
Etawah	127	143	..	1	73	11	..	..	..	..	2,075	3	..	3,563	..	35	23	4,864	10,718
Etah	20	203	137	997	44	210	1	..	6	..	4,788	3	..	1,949	1	..	44	5,847	14,039
Bareilly	168	1,017	25	895	..	177	90	..	..	..	26,689	..	..	12,718	419	7	309	11,433	63,987
Bijnor	..	4,841	..	..	..	305	..	..	..	..	27,479	..	..	19,143	..	4	150	6,565	57,496
Budhan	101	1,636	16	467	27	811	..	..	..	..	10,670	..	..	14,732	15	50	338	11,641	40,404
Moradabad	697	1,809	31	473	108	2,761	139	8	57	..	26,703	..	..	93,675	..	61	678	34,612	161,813
Shahjahanpur	146	439	..	150	24	639	11	..	36	..	8,767	..	..	7,063	131	22	257	5,801	23,330

Pilibhit	4	16	67	91	3	26	5	...	1	...	4,792	...	...	2,579	...	...	61	4,005	11,649
Cawnpur	389	228	73	3	51	571	5	2	51	4	9,060	...	...	16,688	...	29	71	12,807	42,988
Fatehpur	...	254	5	4	103	839	2	234	...	...	2,895	...	53	16,523	65	26	976	5,488	29,216
Banda	13	369	...	123	94	937	...	...	83	...	1,709	51	...	4,055	2	...	16	4,408	11,976
Hamirpur	18	49	23	2,855	1	27	...	19	25	...	699	...	...	1,526	4	45	291	3,652	9,264
Allahabad	1,764	1,552	...	5	...	976	460	105	...	...	4,753	1,143	1	43,454	34	150	1,856	9,937	66,063
Jhansi	17	101	26	7	2	35	5	...	72	...	1,803	...	...	1,756	5	...	39	4,370	9,239
Jilau	37	79	136	...	...	34	...	...	...	...	1,705	...	...	1,621	...	3	48	5,413	9,076
Lalitpur	7	21	36	...	...	6	...	...	...	1	123	...	15	332	...	...	1	1,075	1,017
Bonares	29	666	...	...	...	114	11	117	...	...	3,044	14	...	16,538	...	...	3	5,339	29,976
Mirasapur	41	453	...	...	...	191	...	...	...	...	2,067	122	...	12,995	...	...	35	11,494	27,438
Jaunpur	433	2,471	...	...	11	1,032	23	75	8	...	2,554	297	...	11,701	...	79	...	4,516	23,330
Ghazipur	151	472	...	...	...	290	...	34	24	...	921	156	...	12,111	24	...	30	1,066	15,294
Balla	590	1,714	...	...	...	206	...	1	...	...	1,989	34	...	4,243	...	...	86	870	8,982
Gorakhpur	63	4,151	...	3	...	248	8	...	70	824	6,061	180	24	16,187	...	...	543	4,444	32,755
Basti	432	1,045	1,126	...	...	1,733	...	...	...	...	10,106	729	...	26,290	...	...	1,511	13,339	58,680
Azangarh	390	6,670	...	5	17	1,999	43	...	13	...	13,315	530	1	27,863	99	422	1,974	7,913	61,104
Kumaun	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	377	...	...	...	1,642	2,019
Garhwal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	47	...	...	...	2,570	2,617
Tarai	...	55	549	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,404	...	...	8,957	...	...	20	2,906	14,881
Lucknow	201	1,345	...	19	...	534	35	...	19	95	9,529	81	...	24,267	1	371	256	15,463	53,329
Unao	47	691	...	33	15	539	36	...	24	81	777	31	5	11,934	...	...	404	7,398	22,014
Raj Bareilly	11	642	...	...	...	375	...	...	...	115	860	36	9	6,739	19	...	259	4,169	13,274
Etawah	15	363	...	123	...	169	23	...	...	210	2,356	447	...	10,419	...	1	138	3,774	14,045

Distribution of Shaikhs according to the Census of 1891—concluded.

Districts	Abdai	Anaari	Bahim	Bani Israil	Fandi	Karyil	Hashim	Jafar	Khurshid	Kidwai	Qureshi	Milki	Pardha	Biddagi	Bulmiani	Ulw.	Urami.	Others	Total.
Harden	9	674		3		805		4	5	2 083				15 157	1	19	586	6 090	27 436
Kheri	2	498			20	199					1 748	67		4 075		12	154	2,347	10 050
Fazlbad	231	1,508				791		2			4 313	258		14 074			208	7 246	28 818
Gonda	67	744	505			1 643			496		7 553	31		26 771		11	2 018	1 090	40 968
Bahrach	6	2 077	11	1	8	412	15		23	524	2 766	174	8	10 040	44		59	2 287	19 454
Sultampur	178	407			8	350			4	8	4 277	108		4 067		41	51	1 255	10 887
Partabgarh	89	111			10	2 010	53	24	1		3 551	400		9 469		5	146	6 098	22 298
Bairbanki	130	5 898		242		520	1			1 222	1 308	305	9	17 076		16	856	7 818	35 769
TOTAL	7 817	55 192	3 578	7 232	604	26 525	1 127	687	1 452	3 6 1	2-8-36	5 416	185	610 986	987	1 707	16,766	302 171	1,333,666

Singraur.¹—A tribe found only in the Fatehpur District to the number of 9,388. They claim to be Rājputs and descendants of one Sringi Rishi, who migrated from Ajudhya to Benares. They marry in the orthodox way, and widow-marriage is forbidden. They will eat *kachchi pakki* only with their own Brāhman family priest or members of their own tribe. Their claim to be Rājputs does not appear to be universally admitted, and by one account they are really Lodhas. Under their leader Daryāo Singh they gave much trouble in the Fatehpur District during the Mutiny, and it is only in the Khāga and Khakhror Tahsils that their pretensions to Rājput origin are to any extent recognised.

Sirnet.—A sept of Rājputs found principally in the Gorakhpur Division. There are various accounts of the origin of the name. According to one story they got the title from some Muhammadan king in whose service they were. Their chief was in the habit of wearing on his head a cloth of gold called *net*, and the king, not choosing to recollect the Hindu name, called him Sirnet or "the man with the golden cloth on his head" (iii). By another account they take their name from some place called Sinagar. A third legend is told in connection with the Nikumbh sept and tells how one of them allowed his head to be cut off on a sword placed across the door-way in preference to bowing his head before one of the Delhi Emperors. Dr. Oldham suggests that the name is derived from *sira* "head" and *neta* (*Sanskrit netri*, "a leader"²). All these are mere speculations and of little value.

2. The Oudh story³ is that the Sirnet kingdom of Bānsi in the Basti District was founded by Banwāri, the third son of Jaswant Singh, Dikshit; but the Sirnets of Bānsi claim a higher rank than this legend would give them, and do not acknowledge any connection with the Dikshits. The Unaula Rāja told Dr. Buchanan that they came from Assam.⁴ The Gorakhpur branch ascribed the origin of the Satāsi Raj to Chandia Sen, who was an emigrant from Lahore. He treacherously murdered the Domkatār or Donwār Rāja and seized his dominions. In Basti they are said to allow their daughters to grow up to womanhood, and do not allow them to marry.⁵ In

¹ Mainly based on a note by M. Hashmatulla, S. C. S.

² *Ghazipur Memo.*, I, 59, sq.

³ Elliott, *Chronicles of Oudh*, 35.

⁴ *Eastern India*, II, 358.

⁵ *Selections of Records, North-Western Provinces*, I, 247.

Ghâzipur they call themselves Nikumbh and claim kinship with the Gorakhpur family, as represented by the Râjas of Unaula, Bânsi, and Rudrapur. "They are one of the most noble looking races in the District and are generally well disposed and on good terms with the District officials; but quite ready to join in a general rebellion to recover their estates."

Distribution of the Sirnet Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Fatehpur . . .	18	Azamgarh . . .	474
Bânda . . .	1,196	Lucknow . . .	6
Hamîrpur . . .	1	Râô Bareli . . .	153
Allahâbâd . . .	86	Faizâbâd . . .	56
Benares . . .	5	Bahrâich . . .	57
Ghâzipur . . .	5	Sultânpur . . .	338
Ballia . . .	495	Partâbgarh . . .	192
Gorakhpur . . .	11,810		
Basti . . .	459	TOTAL . . .	19,486

Soeri, Soiri, Suiri.—A small tribe found in parts of the Allahâbâd and Benares Divisions, about whom there has been much not very fruitful speculation. According to Mr. Risley¹ they are known by the names of Savar, Sabar, Saur, Sar, Sayar, Suir, Siwiri, and are "a Dravidian cultivating and servile tribe of Orissa, Chota Nâgpur, Western Bengal, Madras, and the Central Provinces. Colonel Dalton regards them as Dravidian, while Fredrick Muller, General Cunningham, and Mr. R. Cust place them on linguistic grounds in the Kolarian group of tribes. The evidence from language, however, is meagre and inconclusive; while, on the other hand, it is tolerably certain that the Savars, scattered and partially Hinduised as they are, represent the main body of an ancient race, an isolated fragment of which survives in the Malê or Saur of the Râjmahâl hills."

2. General Cunningham² identifies them with the Sauras about

¹ *Tribes and Castes*, II, 241, sq.

² *Archæological Reports*, XVII, 112, sq.

Damoh and Sâgar. The origin of the name Savara, he says, "must be sought for outside the language of the Aryans. In Sanskrit *Savara* simply means 'corpse.' From Herodotus, however, we learn the Scythian word for an axe was *sagaris* and as *g* and *v* are interchangeable letters, *savar* is the same word as *sagar*. It seems, therefore, not unreasonable to infer that the tribes who were so called took their name from their habit of carrying axes. Now it is one of the striking peculiarities of the Savaras that they are rarely seen without an axe in their hands. This peculiarity has been frequently noticed by all who have seen them." In opposition to this it may be urged that the word Savara, if it be, as some believe, derived from *sava* "a corpse," comes from the root *sav*, "to cause to decay," and need not necessarily be of non-Aryan origin, while, on the other hand, no distinct inference can be drawn from the use of the axe by the Savaras, when it is equally commonly used by various other Dravidian jungle tribes, such as Korwas, Bhuiyas and the like.

3. Of the Savaras, who are supposed to have been the ancestors of the existing race, not much is known. Of them Sir W. Hunter writes¹—"The Savaras appear in very early Sanskrit writings and are spoken of with more than usual detestation. As the Sûdras or aboriginal tribes, who had been subdued into the servile caste of the Aryan Commonwealth, sprung from the feet of Brahma, so the Savaras and other forest races, who successfully withstood the invaders, proceeded from the sweat of a cow.² They were goblins, they were devils, they were raw eaters, they were man-eaters, and the Vishnu Purâna has concentrated the national antipathy towards them in its picture of a dwarfish race, with flat noses and a skin the colour of a charred stake. Another sacred text assures us that they were as black as crows, with tawny hair, red eyes, a chin jutting out, short arms and legs, and the typical flat nose. A third Sanskrit sage adds a protuberant belly, drooping ears and an ogre mouth. They seem to have made their individuality very strongly felt in ancient India. The beginning of their territory long marked the last point of the Aryan advance. They are often spoken of as border tribes, who resisted the Sanskrit invaders, scattered armies, and earned for themselves the name of the 'terrible Savaras.' Their

¹ Orissa, I, 176, sq.

² Muir, *Ancient Sanskrit Texts*, I, 391.

name even found its way into Greek geographies, and the ancient kingdom of Kalinga was known to the distant islands of the Indian Archipelago, while still a *terra incognita* to Northern India." On the whole it seems at least probable that the name Savara was a generic title for the aggregate of the Dravidian races who inhabited the line of hills which rise along the south of the valleys of the Jumna and the Ganges. It is thus that they appear in the Katha Sarit Sâgara of Somadeva and in one of these tales the Savara is described as running up "stained with dust, bow in hand, with his hair tied up in a knot behind with a creeper, black himself and wearing a loin-cincture of *vilva* leaves," in short very much like what the Juânga and similar tribes were almost to the present day.¹

4. Modern observers give much the same account of them. Dr. Ball² describes the Savaras of Ganjam as small but wiry, often very dark in colour, and sometimes quite black, which agrees with Mr. Sterling's³ account of the tribe in Orissa. "Their hair is generally tied in a top-knot, and sometimes it is cut short over the forehead, two long locks being permitted to hang over the ears. A few individuals have frizzled shocks, with which no such arrangement is attempted. Most of the men have small square beards. Of these races in Bengal, with whose appearance I am most familiar, they reminded me most strongly of the Bhumij, who belong to the Munda family; but I could also perceive in them some points of resemblance to the Dravidian Pahâriyas of the Râj-mahâl hills. They have not, however, the manly bearing and good physique of the latter. Their manner of dancing resembles that of the Râjmahâl Pahâriyas, as I have on one occasion witnessed it, rather than that of either the Santâls or Kols."

5. Writing of Ghâzipur Dr. Oldham⁴ says that the Soiri strongly resemble the gypsies of Europe; their women wear a tartan dress, and often have a kind of horn projecting from the forehead as an ornament. They live in light and easily moved booths, made of grass and reeds; are fond of intoxicating drinks, and eat the flesh of swine and oxen. They procure the wives for their young men by kidnapping female children, and live principally by jugglery, coin-

¹ Tawney, *Translation*, II, 384.

² *Jungle Life*, 287.

³ *Orissa*, 42, quoted by Risley, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Memo.*, I, 57.

ing false money, and theft. They bring the bones of deceased relatives from long distances to the Ganges, which seemed to Dr. Oldham to indicate that the Ganges valley was once the home of the tribe. Another name of them is, he says, Sânsi, but they will seldom admit the name of either Sânsi or Soiri, and commonly say that they are Banjâras, Kanjars or Nats.

6. At the last Census the Soiris are found to have disappeared from the Districts of the Benares Division, except Benares itself. The fact is that within one decennial period the process of converting them into Râjputs has so far advanced that they now call themselves Sûrajbansis, and repudiate the name of Soiri. This is a very remarkable example, like that of the Kharwârs who have become Benbans Râjputs, of a process which has no doubt gone on extensively in former times, and by means of which there is no doubt that more than one of the Râjput septs has been formed. But in their appearance the so-called Sûrajbansi Râjputs of Mirzapur show unmistakable signs of non-Aryan origin, and there cannot be any doubt that they belong to the Dravidian branch and are closely akin to the Kols and Cheros who live in their neighbourhood. They assert that they give daughters to respectable septs like the Raghubansi, Bais, and Chandel, and receive girls from the Bais. But there is good ground for believing this to be incorrect, and the real fact seems to be that, if they ever intermarry with Râjputs, it is only with bastard members of some sept which bars marriage with such people. There is in almost every Râjput sept a class of people who are in the Western Districts as Gaurua and to the East as Suraitwâl who are the result of connections of Râjput youths who find a difficulty, owing to infanticide or poverty, in finding respectable wives, with Natnis, Kanjarins or other prostitutes. Such children are, of course, excluded from full tribal privileges, and it is with them that tribes like the Soiri, who are on their promotion to become a regular Râjput sept, form marriage alliances.

7. These Mirzapur Soiri Sûrajbansis have no very distinct tradition of their origin. Some of them say that they were once rulers of the Majhwâr Pargana in the Benares District, whence they were expelled by the Barhauilya Râjputs. They allege that they still procure priests, who are Sarwariya Brâhmins, from the village of Keshpur in that Pargana.

Others say that, like the legitimate Sûrajbansis, they came from Ajudhya. Another account is that their first ancestor was a per-

son named Garg, a Gautam Rājput, who settled at Bardiha near Mānda, in the Allahābād District, and kept as his mistress a Bhar girl, whose father he had treacherously killed. He is said to have lived in the time of Jay Chand of Kanauj. His descendants are alleged to be the present Soiri-Sûrajbansis.

8. However this may be, there is ample evidence from the customs of the tribe that they are not genuine Rājputs. Thus, they manage their tribal affairs by means of a tribal council (*pañchāyat*) which no genuine Rājputs do. They permit widow marriage and the levirate, and they have, as might have been expected, to pay heavily for brides, and for this reason many of them are unable to contract a regular marriage. Only those who are married wear the Brāhmanical cord (*janca*), and they have no regular rite of investiture, but merely hang it over their shoulders as they are going through the marriage ceremony. Again, they drive the plough with their own hands, which no real Rājput will do; and contrary to standard custom, when they are cremating the dead, they throw a handful of mustard seed (*sarson*) on the pyre. In other respects they follow the usual standard form in their domestic ceremonies. In fact, in their desire to be regarded as genuine Rājputs they are particularly careful to maintain a pretence of extreme orthodoxy.

9. They worship Mahābīr, Mahādeva, Sītala Māi, and Amina and Bandē, two of the deified quintette of the Pāñchon Pīr. A special worship of these deities is performed at the Naurātra of Kuār. Mahābīr and Mahādeva receive an offering of sweetmeats, a Brāhmanical cord, a piece of cloth dyed in turmeric, a burnt offering (*hom*), and a lamp lighted with *ghī*. To Amina and Bandē they offer a plate of sweet cakes (*rot*), rice cooked with milk (*jaur*), and an image of Amina made of silver. To the Pāñchon Pīr generally they present sweet cakes (*malīda*) and a sacrifice of a goat or fowl, which is done by a Dafāli. To Sītala Māi they present a goat, cakes, and some *halwa* sweetmeat in the months of Chait and Kuār. Mahābīr is usually worshipped on a Tuesday in the month of Sāwan. All these offerings are consumed by the worshippers themselves, except that to the Pāñchon Pīr which is taken by the Dafāli officiant.

10. They do not eat beef or drink spirits. They eat goat's flesh, mutton, venison, and birds like pigeons. None of the higher castes will take food or water from their hands. They naturally hold a low social rank, and are not regarded with more respect than Koiris. They are, in the Mirzapur District, in poor circumstances. None of

them are landlords; a few cultivate as tenants, but the most of them are landless day labourers and serve as messengers or as stone cutters in the quarries about Chunâr. In Mirzapur, at least, they appear to have abandoned their old criminal habits, and are now a quiet, depressed race of people who very seldom come under the notice of the Courts.

Distribution of the Soiris according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS	Number	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Allahâbâd . . .	469	Benares . . .	2,023
Jhânsi . . .	3,058		
Lalitpur . . .	12 273	TOTAL .	17,822

Solankhi, Solanki.—A sept of Râjputs. One derivation of the name is from the Sanskrit *sulakshana*, "having auspicious marks." They are supposed to have succeeded the Chavadas at Anhalwâda about 931 A. D.¹ The Bhâl and, according to others, the Baghel sept are an offshoot from them. Another name for them, Chalukiya, is said to be derived from the fact that when created out of the Agnikunda they were formed in the hollow of the hand (*chullu*, *challu*). Of them Colonel Tod writes.²—"Though we cannot trace the history of this branch of the Agnikulas to such periods of antiquity as the Pramâra or Chauhân, it is from the deficiency of materials, rather than any want of celebrity, that we are unable to place it in this respect on a level with them. The tradition of the Bard makes the Solankis important as princes of Suru on the Ganges, ere the Râthours obtained Kanauj. The genealogical tree claims Lokot, said to be the ancient Lahore, as a residence, which makes them of the same branch (*adkh*) Madwân as the Chauhâns. Certain it is that in the eighth century we find the Langahas and Togrâs inhabiting Multân and the surrounding country, and the chief opponents of the Bhattis on their establishment in the desert. They were princes of Kalyân on the Malabâr coast, which city still exhibits vestiges of ancient grandeur. It was from Kalyân that a scion of the Solanki tree was taken and engrafted on the royal stem of the Chawaras of Anhalwâra Patan."

¹ Dr J. Wilson, *Indian Antiquary*, III, 227.

² *Annals*, I, 102.

In the reign of Chaond Rââ, the son of this prince Bhojrâj, the kingdom of Anhalwâra was devastated by Mahmûd of Ghazni. Colonel Tod divides the Solankhis of Rajputâna into sixteen branches : Baghel, Bîrpur, Behila, Bhurta, Kalâcha, Langaha, Togra, Briku, Surki, Sirwariya, Raoka, Ranikiya, Kharâra, Tantiya, Almecha, Kalamor.

2. The Solankhis in these Provinces hold a respectable rank and give their daughters to Chauhâns, Bhadauriyas, and Jâdons ; they take brides from the Katiyâr, Tomar, Râthaur, Bâchhal, Bais, Gaur, Pundîr, Bargûjar, and some Chauhân families.

Distribution of the Solankhi Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Sabâranpur . . .	6	Jhânsi . . .	88
Meerut . . .	184	Jâlaun . . .	104
Bulandshahr . . .	375	Lalitpur . . .	33
Aligarh . . .	864	Benares . . .	60
Mathura . . .	154	Mirzapur . . .	12
Agra . . .	456	Jaunpur . . .	39
Farrukhâbâd . . .	864	Ballia . . .	426
Mainpuri . . .	773	Gorakhpur . . .	842
Etâwah . . .	57	Basti . . .	237
Etah . . .	5,636	Azamgarh . . .	7
Bareilly . . .	264	Lucknow . . .	73
Budâun . . .	1,553	Unâo . . .	71
Morâdâbâd . . .	131	Rââ Bareilly . . .	10
Shâhjehânpur . . .	359	Sitapur . . .	65
Pilibhît . . .	75	Hardoi . . .	115
Cawnpur . . .	60	Kheri . . .	109
Bânda . . .	94	Sultânpur . . .	4
Hamîrpur . . .	78		
Allahâbâd . . .	27	TOTAL . . .	14,305

Sombansi.—A sept of Rājputs who claim to be of the race of Soma or the moon. Of them Mr. Bennet¹ writes:—"This tribe are found at the beginning of connected history at the Fort of Jhūsi near Allahābād. They have no further traces of an immigration, and their tradition connects them for an indefinite period with their present dominions. The family worship is paid to five saints, four of them princes of the Sombansi blood, and the fifth a Gaharwār Rāja of Benares, who successfully abstracted themselves into non-entity during the Dwāpara Yuga. The principal of these, Ala Rikh or Rishi, gave his name to the town and Pargana of Alarikhpur, contracted into Aror, and since named Partābgarh, and is perhaps identical with the Atap Rikh of Dalmau tradition, who resided in the Ganges forests, and whose teaching enabled Dal and Bal to attain their wide dominion." A reference to these worthies will be found in the article on the Bhars. "Two remarks may be made here: first, that the worship of the manes of their ancestors is common to all the Sombansis and several low castes in their neighbourhood. Barê Purukh ("the great old man") is one of the favourite local penates, and Kârê Deo, the snake, the chief object of home devotion which he shares with Siâu, the jackal. Another is that the most ancient tradition discovers the Sombansis on the northern, and the dawn of history on the southern, bank of the Ganges. An intermediate tradition, attested by the numerous remains of their peculiar forts, points to the existence of a Bhar Rāj in the territory before and after occupied by the Chhatris. The commencement of the pedigree is, as usual, marked by some historical convulsion. Sakrâma Sinha had three sons—one of whom went to Nepāl, the second to Hardoi, while the third remained at Jhūsi. The son of the last was cursed by a Muhammadan Faqîr, Shaikh Taqi, and lost his kingdom. The usual posthumous son was born in exile, and, with the name of Lakhana Sena, founded the kingdom of Aror. One of his sons was a convert to Islām, and in the eighth generation some subordinate centres of power began to branch off from the main Rāj. No prince of this race attained distinction before Partāb Sinh, who, in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, consolidated the power of his clan, built a huge new fort at Aror, which has since been known by his name, and assumed all characteristics of independent sovereignty between the territories of the Bach-

¹ *Clans of Râj Boreli*, 84, sq.

gotis, the Râja of Mânikipur, and the Kânhpuriyas whom he subsequently defeated."

2. There is a section of the sept called Chauhâna,¹ said to be descended from Bhîm Sen, who fought the Râkshasa IIandavi and married his daughter. In Farrukhâbâd² the Pargana of Khakatmau was entirely overspread by the Sombansis of the Baiyâgar (*Vyâgra*) *gotra*. They trace descent from Randhîr Sinh, who lived thirteen generations ago. They founded the Chând dynasty in Kumaun, and trace their descent, some to Jhûsi, and some to Nepâl. The Rautela of Kumaun are descendants of a junior branch.³

3. In Sultânpur they are reported to take brides from the Bilkhariya, Tashaiya, Chandaurya, Kath Bais, Bhâlê Sultân, Raghubansi, Gargbansi, Râj Kumâr, Bachgoti, and Bandhâlgoti: and to give brides to the Tilokchandi Bais, Mainpuri Chauhâns, Mahâl Sûrajbansis, and Bisens of Majhauri. They claim to belong to the Sûrya *gotra*. In Farrukhâbâd they are said to give brides to the Sûrajbansi, Râthaur, Chauhân, and Bhadaurya, and to receive girls from the Bamtelê, Chamar Gaur, Panwâr, and Gaharwâr. In Bareilly they take girls from the Salwant Gaur, Bargûjar, Tomar, Tânk, Bais, and Pundîr; and give girls to the Katheriya, Chauhân, Bhadaurya. In Hardoi they say that they belong to the Vyâgra *gotra*; take girls from the Chandel, Gaur, Gaharwâr, Pramâr, Bais, Ahban, and Nikumbh; while they give brides to the Chauhân, Râthaur, and Bhadaurya.

Distribution of the Sombansi Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Sahâranpur	1	...	1
Muzaffarnagar	2	...	2
Meerut	2	...	2
Bulandshahr	196	...	196
Mathura	16	...	16

¹ *Partabgarh Settlement Report*, 112.

² *Settlement Report*, 13.

³ *Atkins on, Himâlayan Gazetteer*, II, 497, sq. 504, 772, III, 432.

*Distribution of the Sombansi Rājputs according to the Census
of 1891—continued.*

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Agra	30	...	30
Farrukhābād	4,521	27	4,548
Mainpuri	366	...	366
Etawah	126	...	126
Etah	83	7	90
Bareilly	2,488	197	2,685
Budāun	333	...	333
Morādābād	133	386	519
Shāhjahanpur	2,200	8	2,208
Pilibhit	268	...	268
Cawnpur	1,214	...	1,214
Fatehpur	83	...	83
Banda	31	...	31
Hamirpur	503	1	504
Allahābād	2,847	...	2,847
Jhānsi	115	...	115
Jālāun	115	...	115
Lalitpur	2	...	2
Benares	394	51	445
Mirzapur	46	...	46
Jāunpur	2,515	32	2,547
Ghāzipur	2,006	...	2,006
Ballia	85	...	85
Gorakhpur	617	...	617
Basti	179	697	876
Azamgarh	8,891	153	9,044
Tarai	126	...	126

*Distribution of the Sombansi Rajputs according to the Census
of 1891—concluded.*

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Maham- madans.	TOTAL.
Lucknow	935	12	947
Unão	501	...	501
R&A Bareilly	2,770	89	2,859
Sitapur	1,936	13	1,949
Hardoi	14,793	180	14,973
Kheri	1,910	604	2,514
Faizâbâd	1,300	...	1,300
Gonda	3,167	...	3,167
Bahrâich	1,002	67	1,069
Sultânpur	1,939	507	2,446
Partâbgarh	19,823	64	19,887
Bârabanki	377	269	646
TOTAL	80,987	3,364	84,351

Sorahiya, Surahiya, Surâya.—A tribe of boatmen, fishermen, and cultivators in the Eastern Districts. They are usually classed as a sub-caste of Mallâh. According to Mr. Risley "there is a shadowy connection between the Surahiya and the Châîn. The former use the water vessels and *huggas* of the latter, but the Châîn assuming a higher rank, will smoke, but will neither eat nor intermarry with the Surahiya. The Surahiyas have no tradition of their own except the common one that their ancestors came from the West."

"They profess to be orthodox Hindus, and employ Maithil Brâhmans for religious and ceremonial purposes.

"In practice, however, the greater gods of the Hindu pantheon receive only occasional worship, and the working religion of the caste is concerned with the mysterious group known as the Pâñch Pîr, Koil Bâba, the boatman's deity, and Amar Sinh, a canonised Surahiya, who seems to be their special patron. In his honour a part of the house is daubed with cowdung on stated days of every

month in the year except Pûs (December-January) and Chait (March-April), and goats, rice, sweetmeats, *ghi*, etc., are offered, and incense burned, the worshippers afterwards partaking of the offerings themselves. In point of social standing the Surahiyas rank immediately below the group of castes from whose hands Brâhmans will take water. Thus Koiris, Barârs, Gangotas, who belong to that group, will accept sweetmeats from Surahiyas, but will not eat boiled rice in their houses. The characteristic occupation of the caste is boating and fishing.

"Dr. Wise describes them as enterprising and hardy sailors, often met with in Eastern Bengal during the cold season, in large trading vessels laden with grain pulse and fuller's earth, which is sold to Mahâjans, and a cargo of rice shipped for the return voyage. They are very muscular and large boned, and their physique offers a striking contrast to that of the average Bengali boatman. Some Surahiyas have taken to cultivation, and hold land as occupancy and non-occupancy tenants. Their number, however, is comparatively small, and there are at present no signs of their developing into a sub-caste: in fact, even cultivating Surahiyas are ready to engage themselves as boatmen."¹

Sûd.—A Panjâbi tribe of whom only a very small number is found in these Provinces. Of them Mr. Ibbetson writes:—"The Sûds are almost entirely confined to the lower hills and the districts that lie immediately under them as far west as Amritsar. Their head-quarters are at Ludhiâna and the neighbouring town of Machhiwâra. They are almost wholly mercantile in their pursuits, though occasionally taking service as clerks, and occupy a social position markedly inferior to that of either the Banya or the Khatri. They wear a sacred thread (*janu*) made of three instead of six strands, and many of them practise widow marriage. With the exception of a few, who are Sikhs, they are almost all Hindus, but are, in comparison with the other mercantile classes, very lax in the observance of their religion. They indulge freely in meat and wine, and in habits, customs, and social position resemble very closely the Kâyasths. The tribe is apparently an ancient one, but I can obtain no definite information as to its origin. I attempted to make enquiries from some leading Sûds, but the result was the assembling of a

¹ Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II, 283, sq.

² *Panjâb Ethnography*, section 537.

Panchâyat, the ransacking of the Sanskrit classics for proof of their Kshatriya origin, and a heated discussion in the Journal of the Anjuman.

2. They are divided into two main sections : the Uchandiya or Sûd of the Hills, and the Newandiya or Sûd of the Plains. I find, however, that some of the Sûds of Hoshyârpur trace their origin from Sirhind. They also distinguish the Sûds who do not practise widow marriage from those who do, calling the former Khara and their offspring Gola, Doghla (hybrid) or Chikân. These two sections, of which the latter corresponds exactly with the Dasa and Gola Banyas already described, do not intermarry. The Sûds forbid marriage in all four *gotras*, and here again show how much less their tribal customs have been affected by their religion than have those of the Banyas and Khatris. They are of good physique, and are an intelligent and enterprising caste, with great power of combination and self-restraint; and they have lately made what appears to be really successful effort to reduce their marriage expenses by general agreement. The extensive sugar trade of Ludhiâna and generally the agricultural money-lending of the richest part of that district are almost entirely in their hands. They are proverbially acute and prosperous men of business, and there is a saying:—‘ If a Sûd is across the river, leave your bundle on this side.’ The husbandman of the villages is a mere child in their hands.”

Distribution of the Sûd according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	12	Jhânsi . . .	23
Muzaffarnagar . . .	1	Gonda . . .	29
Mathura . . .	80		
Allahâbâd . . .	2	TOTAL . . .	147

SUNÂR, Sonâr;¹ in the Hills Sona (Sanskrit *Suvarna-kâra*, “a worker in gold”); in Persian Zargar—the gold and silver-smith, who also engages in money-lending, pawnbroking, and general trade. The internal organization and tradition of the tribe seem

¹ Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by the Deputy Inspectors of Schools, Dehra Dûn, Pilibhît, Shahjahanpur.

to indicate that it is probably originally occupational and may have been recruited from various sources.

2. The tradition of their origin is thus told by the Sunârs

of the Eastern Districts : There was Tradition of origin in ancient times a Niyâriya, or purifier of gold, who lived near a jungle where Devi lived with the Râkshasa Sonwa Daitya, whose body was of pure gold. The goddess became tired of her demon lover and ordered the Niyâriya whose name was Mair, to destroy him. Mair approached the demon and offered to clean his body which had become very dirty. The demon allowed him to experiment on his little finger and was satisfied with the result. Then Mair told him that he could clean his whole body if he would agree to mount the fire. The Râkshasa consented, and Mair arranged a pyre, on which he placed the demon, and then laid pieces of lead on his head and breast, so the demon was consumed, and Devi blessed Mair with the promise that he and his descendants should always possess gold and silver and work in the precious metals.

3. The Bengal story adds that Mair was covetous and stole part of the demon's head, and, being detected with it by Devi, she cursed him and his descendants with poverty.¹

4. According to the Bombay account . In the beginning of the world a pair were produced out of the fire : the male with a blow pipe, and the female with a burning hearth holding molten gold.²

5. By another legend current in Northern India, Devi created Mair out of the dirt (*mail*) of her body, and induced him to destroy her demon lover. In another form of the same story, Mair was created from the dirt scraped from the body of a Mâi or holy woman, and in return he rescued her from a golden demon by throwing him into the fire. In this version a Saniâf seizes the golden ingot, and the Mair, who contented himself with the stray pieces of gold, received the Mâi's blessing, so that he does prosper to this day. Others again say that the gold demon was named Mâika Asura, and that from him was derived the name of Mair.

6. At the last Census the Sunârs were recorded under eight main

sub-castes : Ajudhyabâsi, " residents of Tribal organization: Ajudhya," Bâgri, which is also the name

¹ Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II, 256.

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, 123.

of a well-known Rājput sept; Chhatri or Kshatriya, which are probably the same as the Tānk Sunârs of the Panjāb, who profess to be degenerate Kshatris or Aroras; Deswāli or "indigenous;" Kanauiya or "residents of Kanauj;" Khatri, who are perhaps connected with the Chhatri sub-caste already referred to; Mair, who are apparently the original Sunârs of Upper India; and the Rastaogi, which is also the name of one of the Banya sub-tribes.

7. To the east of the Province the internal structure of the caste is very elaborate. There are three groups or sub-tribes, which, according to Mr. Sherring's ¹ account from Benares, should contain respectively twelve (*bārāh mūl*), fifty-two (*bāwan mūl*) and twenty-two (*bāis mūl*) sections. It has been found practically impossible to procure a complete list of these sections. The following is the enumeration in Mirzapur. The names given by Mr. Sherring have been given in parenthesis where they apparently correspond—Tântê (Tâtê), Phankê (Phaphê), Thâkur (Thâkur), Rajghatiya (Rajghatiya), Anguriya (Anguriya), Sugawa Bair, Sinh Tarora (Tandora), Andhâri kâ khatanga, Râmtul (Râmtuli), Banwadhiya, Niyâriya, and Nawagiriha (Naugrahiya). Mr. Sherring adds three more—Phûl, Aldemaau, Nautakiya. He gives for the Sinh Tarora or Tandora sub-division thirteen minor clans: Sinh Tandora, Amlohiya, Jhanjhiya, Sugvahir, Naktunâik, Alona, Nujariya, Tabakhiya, Ghosiwâl, Khâspuri, Puriya, Ghatkiya, and Pûrabi. Of these the Sugnahair is perhaps the same as the Sugawa Bair of the Mirzapur enumeration. Mr. Sherring does not give the sections of the other sub-tribes. The second group should, it is said, include ten sections, of which only nine are known in Mirzapur: Lâl, Mânîk, Husainâbâdi, Tankiya, Teliya, Sergharlotiya, Agariya, Bilaiya, and Kuthawa. The third group, according to Mirzapur enumeration contains thirty sections: Dewaiya, Kataiya, Chûrihâra, Bahariyâbâdi, Naubariya, Narhaniha, Teraha, Mardaniya, Qâzipuriya, Badipuriya, Mânîkपुरिहा, Bilâlapuriha, Hâjipuriha, Bigwa, Saharbâdiya, Kutmutiya, Sutaha, Thâna, Chikaniya, Charokota, Mathaân, Kith, Panadaha, Bâbhan, Sunâra, Amawatiya, Bilâra, Khatanga, Sarawaniya, and Lawaniya. Many of these sections appear to be of local origin; others, as the Chûrihâra and Bâbhan Sunâra, may indicate real or pretended connection with

¹ *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I, 314, sq.

other castes. It is a good example of the extreme fertility with which castes like these produce their sections that there is no likeness between these lists and those given from Bengal and Bihâr by Mr. Risley.¹

8. There is, again, another classification in parts of Mirzapur of Uttarâha, "Northern;" Dakkhinâha, "Southern;" Purabiya, "Eastern;" and Pachhainwa, or "Western." In Bhadohi, north of the Ganges, there is a section known as Bhatkhauwa, so called, it is said, because a Sunâr cohabited by force with a Kâyasth woman, and her descendants were afterwards admitted to the tribe after eating rice (*bhât khâna*). Another section is known as Kukar Khauwa or "dog-caters," because once, when a house was burnt down, a dog was burnt, and they ate its flesh, believing it to be that of a goat.

9. In Rohilkhand the Chhatri sub-caste is said to be so called because, when Parasurâma was annihilating the Kshatriyas, one of them took refuge with some Sunârs and adopted their trade to save his life. They are said to have no less than four hundred and eighty-four sections, some of whom, according to a list from Pilibhît, are Amethi, Gonthi, Mangaiyân, Musarma, Haraihila, Karaihila, Tataila, Ugar, Bhuinganiya, Bhujwâr, Bachhrâjpuriya, Sûirajpuriya, Chandwariya, Nainhân, and Mediya,—all of which are said to be the names of their head-quarters. The complete census returns show 1,627 sub-divisions of Sunârs, of which those of most local importance are the Desi of Sahâranpur; the Pachhâdê of Meerut and Morâdâbâd; the Mahar of Agra; the Sundha of Fatehpur, Allahâbâd, and Bânda; the Deogayân of Benares; the Audhiya of Lalitpur; the Badhauiliya and Ganga of Mirzapur; the Indauriya and Jalesariya of Jaunpur; the Bholiya of Ghâzipur; the Jaiswâr and Kanak of Ballia; the Fatehpuri and Sakarwâr of Gorakhpur, the Magahiya, Sarwariya, and Sikandarpuriya of Basti; the Deogayân of Azamgarh; the Syâmkrishna of Gonda.

10. Besides these there are other numerous sections, which are said to be merely occupational or recruited from menial tribes, and are not accepted by the genuine Sunârs for purposes of marriage. All Sunârs appear to practise hypergamy and marry, when possible, their daughters in a section of

¹ *Tribes and Castes*, II, 129.

rank superior to their own. The sub-castes are endogamous, and the sections exogamous. The strict rule is that a man cannot marry in his own, his mother's, his paternal grandmother's, his maternal grandmother's, his father's, paternal or maternal grandmother's section, or in that in which a brother or sister has been already married. In working out the connection the sections of both bride and bridegroom should be considered. They also do not marry within seven generations in the descending line. But it would seem that this rule is falling into abeyance, and the tendency appears, at least in the eastern part of these Provinces, for the sections to coalesce into larger groups, such as the Uttarâha, Dakkinâha, etc., which are becoming endogamous, and isolate themselves by some special observances, such as the maintenance or abolition of widow marriage, and then fall back on the ordinary exogamous formula, which bars intermarriage between the first cousins on both sides

11. The Sunârs have a tribal council (*panchâyat*) presided over by a permanent chairman (*mukhiya, chaudhari*).

Tribal council.

Offences against morality or caste usage are usually punished by two compulsory feasts,—one *pakki* and the other *kachchi*, at the expense of the offender. More serious offences are punished by compulsory pilgrimages, and by feeding and giving alms to Brâhmins, particularly to the tribal priests.

12. The Mair Sunârs admit widow marriage, which most of the others profess to prohibit; but the rule is not sufficiently precise to be defined. Polygamy

Marriage rules.

is so far admitted that a man can marry again in the lifetime of his first wife with the approval of the council. As has been already noticed, there is so far a tendency towards hypergamy that parents desire to marry their daughters into a family of a higher rank than their own, while sons are married into families of the same or lower social rank. Concubinage is forbidden, and if a man keeps a strange woman he is put out of caste. Girls before marriage have a certain amount of freedom, but a girl detected in pre-nuptial infidelity is expelled from the family, and if her friends hesitate to take this step, they are put out of caste and not re-admitted until they pay a fine. Marriages are usually arranged by a Bhât. Girls are usually married at the age of ten or twelve; but the practice varies, the richer Sunârs having a preference for infant marriage. Those of higher rank give a dowry with their daughters; while those of a lower grade take money for their girls and often marry them to

the highest bidder. It seems to be understood, however, that the bride-price should be spent on the marriage ceremony and the feast which accompanies it. A man may, with the previous sanction of the council, repudiate an unfaithful wife; and a woman can, similarly, with the permission of the council, leave her husband if he be impotent, but, of course, she cannot be re-married by the regular form.

13. There is nothing peculiar in the birth ceremonies. There are the usual observances on the sixth (*chhatthi*) and twelfth (*barahi*) day after confinement.

Birth ceremonies. The menstrual impurity lasts for three days; on the fourth the woman is purified by bathing. The time for the final ablution of the mother is fixed by the Pandit, who even decides what is the lucky direction in which she ought to sit while undergoing the final bath of purification. The Chamâr midwife receives as her fee, in addition to a money present, a sieve full of barley or rice which is known as *akkat* (Sanskrit *akshata*). On each of the two ceremonial bathings the barber's wife distributes, at the houses of the brethren, a preparation of ginger, molasses, and butter, known as *basina*, for which at each house she receives a present. They have the usual initiation into caste by means of the ear-boring (*kanchhedan*, *kambedha*). They also wear the sacred cord (*janew*); but this is not assumed with any special ceremony, and the investiture is done at marriage.

14. The marriage ritual, on the whole, corresponds with that of the higher caste Hindus. Rich people marry their daughters by the respectable (*charkauwa*) form; poorer people use the *dola* rite, where the ceremony is performed at the house of the bridegroom.

15. The dead are cremated according to the standard form. They perform the annual *sraddha*, and some of the wealthier class go even to Gaya for this purpose.

16. In Oudh a Sunâr, named Munna Dâs, who died nearly a century ago, established a sect the members of which have an annual fair at the tomb of their spiritual leader at Mandwa in the Kheri district.¹ Some of their special customs are to *salaam* with both hands, to abstain from flesh meat, and to worship an unlighted lamp. To the east of the Province, if they are regularly initiated into any sect, it is

¹ Oudh Gasetteer, II, 201.

the Râmanandi or Nânakpanthi. Their tribal deities are Mahâdeva, the Pâñchon Pîr, Hardiha or Harda Lâla, Ambika and Phûlmati Devi. These deities are worshipped in the months of Jeth and Sâwan. The Pâñchon Pîr receive an offering of cakes (*malîda*), *sharbat*, and garlands of flowers. The priests of the Pâñchon Pîr are drawn from the Dafâli caste and receive a share of the offerings. They have also a special tribal Pîr, known as Mîran Sâhib, who is worshipped on Thursdays with an offering of sweets. Kâlîka and the other deities receive cakes (*pûris*), pottage (*lapsi*), sacrifices of sheep and goats, and pieces of coloured cloth (*chunari*). Their priests are of the ordinary respectable Brâhman class. The meat offerings made by the worshippers are consumed by them after dedication. The family gods are worshipped in a special room in the house, where a platform (*chabûtra*) is erected in their honour.

17. They observe the ordinary Hindu holidays. On the full moon of Asârh, they mix various grains together, parch them, scatter them in the corners of the house, and make a sacred circle all round outside to guard the family from evil. Snakes are worshipped at the Nâg-panchami, trees on Saturday, the Sun on Sunday, and the Moon at full moon. The special women's holiday is the Tîj or third day of the light half of Bhâdon. Women fast the whole night and day and with singing go and bathe in a stream or tank. But on the previous evening they keep silence as they go to bathe. They worship Bâwan or Bâmana, the dwarf incarnation of Vishnu, on the twelfth of the light half of Bhâdon. They also fast at the Anant, and, on breaking their fast, they eat only wheat bread and milk. The special girl's holiday is the Dasahra or the tenth of the bright half of Jeth, when they throw dolls into the water. They respect the *nîm* tree as the abode of Sîtala and the *pîpal* as the home of the other gods. Dead people often become troublesome ghosts and are worshipped by their relations.

18. Women are tattooed on the wrists. If this be not done, they will be unable to find their mothers in the next world. They swear on Ganges water, on their own heads, on the heads of their sons, standing in water, or by putting *pîpal* leaves on their heads. They believe in magic and witchcraft, to relieve the effects of which they employ Ojhas or Syânas drawn from the lower castes. To obviate the effects of the Evil Eye, a child is usually taken to a mosque and

the Maulavi is asked to breathe over him when the service is over. They worship and protect the cow.

19. They will not touch a Chamâr, Dom or similar degraded castes. Some of them drink, but the habit is reprobated. As an intoxicant and tonic they use *bhang*. They eat the flesh of goats, sheep, and deer, but not beef or pork. Like all respectable Hindus, they will not eat onions, but use garlic instead, and they will not eat turnips or the *kaddu* pumpkin. They will eat the leavings of no one except those of their Guru. They salute their biethren in the forms *Râm ! Râm !* or *Jay Râm ! Silarâm !* They are said to respect women more than other castes of the same social level. They eat *pakki* cooked by Brâhmanas and Râjputs, and *kachchi* cooked by clansmen or by their Guru.

20. The best account of the business of the goldsmith is that given by Mr. MacLagan for the Panjâb. Their business is making jewelry and money-lending and pawn-broking. They are very often "fences" and receive and dispose of stolen jewelry. They have a slang vocabulary of which a long list has been given by Sir H. M. Elliot.¹ There are, according to Mr. Hoey,² four classes of work in Lucknow: plain work (*sâda*) in which there is no ornamentation, such as ordinary gold and silver bangles; *chî/dî* or mat-work, which includes all work in which there are cut or engraved designs of flowers, letters, inscriptions, etc.; *jardô* or *murassa*, which includes all work involving the setting of stones and raised and joined work; *jaldâr*, which is of various classes, European goods, filigree, etc. Besides this there is a large business done by Sunârs in the manufacture of silver and silver-gilt vessels for the Indian market, and teapots, sugar-bowls, tumblers, etc., for English people. When manufacture of ornaments or vessels involves enamelling and gilding, these processes are not performed by the gold or silversmith, but by other artisans, known as the *Mînasâz* or *Mulammasâz*.

21. The occupation of the Sunâr is certainly very ancient, as the deities in the Rigveda are constantly represented as wearing gold jewelry. Gold was undoubtedly very extensively found and used in the earliest times in India.³

¹ Supplemental Glossary, 245.

² Monograph, 18a.

³ Rajendra Lala Mitra, *Indo Aryans*, I, 277. Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities*, 172, 185.

22. The Sunâr has a very indifferent reputation for honesty. "The ornament is the wearer's, but the gold remains with the goldsmith" (*Sona Sunâr kâ, abhâran sansâr kâ*) is a common proverb. To the west of the Province they tell how a Sunâr made the gold of his own Guru disappear before his very eyes, and then complimented the Guru on his miraculous powers. Another tale describes how a Sunâr wasted away with regret because he made a nosering for his mother without alloying it, and a variant of the tale goes on to tell that he never stopped till he cut off his mother's nose to get the jewel back. So they say *Sunâr apni mât ki nâk men sé bhî churâtâ hai*—"A goldsmith will steal a piece of his own mother's nosering." Another Sunâr went to the temple of Badari Nârâyan in Garhwâl and finding that his iron ring on touching the statue became gold, cut off one of the god's fingers for his private use. But the stump began to ooze with unmistakable blood and from that day to this no Sunâr dares to come near the idol for fear of being struck blind.

Distribution of the Sunars according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Ajudyah- gan.	Bagri.	Chhattri.	Deswali.	Kanan- jiya.	Khatri.	Mair.	Rastogi.	Others.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Dehra Ddn .	...	26	...	22	...	...	...	...	494	...	542
Saharanpur .	...	454	73	765	...	...	761	...	2,862	...	4,955
Muzaffarnagar .	...	564	...	3,317	...	...	108	...	642	35	4,686
Meerut .	...	22	...	4,632	...	...	1,312	...	2,461	...	8,427
Bulandshahr .	...	...	...	479	...	...	1,033	...	2,679	119	4,304
Aligarh .	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,466	...	3,139	...	4,605
Mathura .	...	...	...	...	...	1	3,751	...	573	1	4,326
Agra .	137	..	598	...	...	157	181	1	4,994	5	6,073
Farrukhabad .	43	...	2,918	...	25	...	53	19	2,633	...	5,681
Mainpuri .	...	...	2,315	...	...	...	...	...	1,900	...	4,215
Etawah .	551	33	1,426	...	199	240	249	53	2,031	...	4,782
Etah .	...	...	1,608	...	8	...	72	7	1,773	...	3,468
Bareilly .	31	...	1,857	...	...	...	122	3,686	1,320	...	7,316

Distribution of the Sunders according to the Census of 1891—continued.

Districts.	Ajudyas- bas.	Bagri.	Chhatri.	Deswâli	Kanau- jya.	Khatri.	Maur.	Rastâogi.	Others.	Muham- madans.	Total.
Bijnor	...	...	...	390	...	...	3,862	...	108	...	4,360
Budann	...	...	1,886	...	...	...	707	606	1,305	...	4,504
Moradabad	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,195	949	1,793	124	6,001
Shahjahanpur	...	...	3,128	...	...	19	210	1,078	1,241	...	5,676
Pilibhit	...	21	1,186	...	...	...	682	942	159	...	2,990
Cawnpur	1,785	...	2,690	...	107	800	9	158	2,213	...	7,762
Fatehpur	895	...	759	...	29	124	8	...	3,109	...	4,924
Banda	3,612	56	42	...	8	1,684	...	...	942	...	6,244
Hamirpur	5,201	...	...	...	...	1,065	...	...	143	...	6,409
Allahabad	514	...	64	...	61	12	9	19	7,427	...	8,106
Jhansi	844	...	...	...	...	1,705	...	...	814	...	3,863
Jaloun	1,358	...	23	...	...	1,470	...	...	928	...	3,779
Lalitpur	6	...	42	...	...	95	...	...	1,774	...	1,917
Benares	124	...	...	...	...	2,091	303	...	4,795	...	7,313

Mirzapur	.	.	994	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,800	...	5,794
Jaunpur	.	.	258	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,959	...	6,217
Ghazipur	.	.	474	...	...	...	...	19	282	...	...	...	7,895	...	8,670
Ballia	.	.	225	...	...	...	...	266	...	...	...	...	8,969	...	9,460
Gorakhpur	.	.	4,644	...	...	66	262	49	798	3	...	...	11,430	..	17,252
Basti	.	.	2,024	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7,735	...	9,459
Azamgarh	.	.	2,360	...	...	93	...	128	444	...	...	...	5,414	...	8,369
Kumaun	.	.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	681	...	681
Garhwal	.	.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	..	4
Tardi	.	.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	491	179	302	11	983	
Lucknow	.	.	7	1,107	...	...	...	69	18	9	1,172	2,802	..	5,184	
Unao	.	.	223	824	...	...	...	4	...	...	139	2,833	...	4,023	
Ras Bareilly	.	.	120	497	...	...	...	14	42	16	239	3,935	...	4,863	
Sitapur	.	.	2	1,378	...	...	...	22	...	1	1,333	1,237	...	3,973	
Hardoi	.	.	...	2,411	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,142	294	...	3,847	
Kheri	.	.	...	1,328	...	...	...	...	...	408	1,207	334	...	3,975	
Faizabad	.	.	332	73	...	...	...	...	311	151	38	3,986	3	4,894	

Distribution of the Sundars according to the Census of 1891—concluded.

Districts.	Ajodhya- bani.	Bagri.	Chhattri.	Deswali.	Kanau- jiya.	Khatri.	Mair.	Rastogi.	Others.	Maham- madans.	TOTAL.
Gonda . . .	...	175	40	...	28	...	...	1,374	3,532	...	5,149
Behrlich . . .	7	...	789	14	...	...	1,483	301	1,400	2	3,996
Sultampur . . .	...	...	...	7	36	...	...	...	3,956	24	4,023
Partabgarh . . .	...	...	6	...	17	...	...	...	2,663	2	2,688
Barabanki . . .	...	846	53	5	17	...	...	1,175	3,340	...	5,436
TOTAL .	26,691	2,356	29,121	9,898	1,108	11,358	20,653	16,127	137,703	320	255,328

Sunkar.¹—A small caste of labourers entirely confined to Bundelkhand. They appear to have no traditions of origin. They have a number of exogamous *gotras*, some of which are Margiya, Gotiya and Jaraliya. A man cannot marry in his own *gotra* or in a family with which another marriage connection has been formed within the memory of man. Both infant and adult marriage is allowed. Neither polyandry nor polygamy is allowed. The marriage ceremony is by the usual form of *bhanwar* or revolutions round the marriage shed. Widows are allowed to marry and the levirate is preferred, but is not compulsory on the woman. In widow marriage the only observance is the feast to the brethren when the bride is brought home with her husband. A woman can be divorced for adultery with the consent of the tribal elders (*mukhiya*). A divorced wife may remarry in the caste according to the form allowed in the case of widow marriage.

2. They are Hindus and generally worship Devi. Their chief local god is Hardaul Lāla, who is worshipped at marriages. They burn their dead, and if a river be near the ashes are consigned to it; if not they are left on the burning ground. They offer the usual libations of water to the manes of the dead and feast the brethren.

3. Their chief occupation is dyeing cloth with the *dl* dye and making what is known as *kharua* cloth. Some of them burn lime and collect road metal (*kankar*) on the roads. They are allowed to eat goat's flesh and fish and drink spirits. They will not eat or drink with any of the menial castes, and no higher caste will take food or water from their hands.

Distribution of the Sunkar according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Bānda . . .	1	Jālaun . . .	467
Hamirpur . . .	352		
Jhānsi . . .	546	TOTAL .	1,396

Sūrajans, Sūrajansi (Sanskrit *Sūrya-vansa*, "the race of the sun").—A modern sept of Rājputs who claim to be the represen-

¹ Principally based on a note by M. Rādha Raman, Deputy Collector, Jhānsi.

tatives of the famous solar race of Ajudhya. The Malla Râjas of Nepâl assert that they are sprung from Ansuvarma, who, according to the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Tshang, belonged to the Sûrajbansi family of the Lichohhavis of Vaisali near Patna.¹ The famous tradition, accepted by Colonel Tod, represents that in 224 A. D., Kanak Sen left Ajudhya with a large following and migrated westward to Gujarât. "This tradition, however, is opposed to the widely received story that Vikramaditya, of Ujjain, visited Ajudhya about 50 B. C., and found it totally desolate and covered with forest, and, after discovering the sites of the ancient temples and palaces, rebuilt them in their original splendour. Granting, however, that this discrepancy is one of dates and not of facts, this migration of the Sûrajbansis from Ajudhya to Gujarât, and finally to Chithor, is the only tangible fact we have to lay hold on the early history of Oudh."² The Pahâri Chhatrî Râja, who now holds the Pargana of Khaïrgarh, in the Kheri district, asserts³ that his family governed at Sâraswati till the time of Râja Suthurot, whose son Marchhan Deva moved with his subjects to Ajudhya, where they reigned for one hundred and two generations till the time of Pitra Sen, who became King of Bhârat Khañd or Northern India. There they reigned for eighteen generations, and then they moved to Kaphâr, in Kumaun, where forty-two more of them successively sat on the throne. The forty-second, Sârang Deva, emigrated to Kâthaur. The twentieth generation brings them down to Arjuva Pâla, who was a contemporary of the Emperor Akbar. "They claim then to have governed in different parts of India for more than two hundred and twenty generations prior to the sixteenth century. In spite of this long descent, it may be remarked that the family is hardly considered Chhatrî at all; and even when they managed to marry their daughters to the Ahbans, Janwârs, and Raikwârs, they had to pay large sums as bribes. Further, none of these places or parganas appear on the map of Kumaun, and the whole story is probably one of those fictions in which the bards of India are so fertile."

2. According to the legend current in Faizâbâd,⁴ their ancestor

¹ Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, II, 514.

² Elliott, *Chronicles of Undo*, 21.

³ *Oudh Gazetteer*, II, 130.

⁴ *Settlement Report*, 212.

came from Kumaun three hundred and fifty years ago and settled at Sultānpur, a suburb of Faizābād. He and his sons served a merchant named Dandās Sahu, who had excavated a large tank in the neighbourhood, to which he gave his name. There dwelt hard by, in the village of Belahri Shāh Bhīkha, a hermit of great repute. On one occasion the merchant found the hermit washing his teeth at the edge of the tank, and admonished him for so doing. This so enraged the hermit that he vowed that in future not even donkeys should drink at the tank, and in consequence water is rarely found in it. The merchant died childless, and his property fell into the hands of his Sūrajbans servant, and thus the present family came to be founded. In Râê Bareli¹ their sons marry Chauhān and Bisen girls, and they give brides to the Amethiya and Bais. There is a flourishing branch in Ghâzipur, who claim to have expelled the Bhars.²

3. There is another sept of illegitimate Sūrajbansis who are probably included in the enumeration of the last census. They are described under the head of Soiris.

4. According to one account the Sūrajbansis take wives from the Bachgoti, Râjkumâr, Bandhalgoti, Sombansi, and Kalhans septs; and give girls to the Sirnet, Gautam, and Baghel. The poorer members of the sept are said to sell their daughters to rich Râjputs of any clan irrespective of social rank.

Distribution of the Sūrajbans Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Sahāranpur . . .	110	Agra	211
Muzaffarnagar . .	13	Farrukhābād . .	30
Meerut	155	Mainpuri	2
Bulandshahr . . .	2,294	Etāwah	4
Aligarh	11	Etah	134
Mathura	45	Pareilly	98

¹ *Settlement Report, Appendix C.*

² *Oldham, Memoir, I, 65.*

Distribution of the Sūrajāns Rājputs according to the Census of 1841—concluded.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS	Number.
Bijnor	185	Gorakhpur	1,581
Budāun	12	Basti	14,670
Morādābād	222	Azamgarh	551
Shāhjahānpur	111	Kumaun	184
Philbhit	56	Tarāi	49
Cawnpur	166	Lucknow	241
Fatehpur	5	Unāo	9
Pānda	187	Rāo Bareilly	55
Hamirpur	49	Sitapur	194
Allahābād	429	Haidou	185
Jhānsi	12	Kheri	458
Jālaun	13	Faizābād	4,124
Lalitpur	2	Gonda	826
Benares	1,295	Bahrāich	445
Mirzapur	6,786	Sultānpur	315
Jaunpur	285	Partābgarh	172
Ghāzipur	3,769	Rārabanki	2,777
Ballia	855	TOTAL	44,382

Suthrashāhi.¹—An order of Hindu mendicants who are found in very small numbers in these Provinces.

Of them Mr. MacLagan writes :—"The origin of this order is a little doubtful. According to one account, Suthra Shāh was a Budwāl Khatri of Bahrāmpur, in the Gurdāspur district, who became a disciple of Guru Arjan, and was called Suthra, "pure," from his truthfulness. Another story is that he was a follower of Guru Har Govind, and various tales are told of the quarrelsomeness and somewhat coarse humour which he displayed in the days of that Guru. Professor Wilson, again, says that the Suthra-

¹ *Panjab Census Report*, 154; Wilson, *Essays*, I, 272, sq.; Ibbetson, *Panjab Ethnography*, paragraph 522, Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, 65.

shâhis look to Garu Tegh Bahâdur as their founder. Dr. Trumpp, on the other hand, states that the founder of this sect was a Brâhman named Sucha, and that they took their origin under Guru Har Râê. His view is supported by a story, which says that when Guru Har Râê was summoned by Aurangzeb to Delhi, Suthra Shâh took his place and so pleased the Mughal by his wit and wisdom that he was given special permission to levy a *paisa* from every shop in the realm. On the strength of this his spiritual descendants are most importunate beggars and will seldom leave a shop till they get alms. They proceed along the bázârs with black caste marks on their foreheads and black woollen ropes (*seli*) twisted round their heads and necks, clashing together a couple of short staves (*danda*) and shouting mystic Panjâbi songs indifferently in honour of Guru Nânak and the goddess Devi. They perform the funeral ceremonies of the Hindus, burn their dead, and throw the bones into the Ganges; but they neither wear the Brâhmanical thread nor keep the scalp-lock. They indulge freely in intoxicants and seldom cease from smoking. Their profligacy is notorious and they are said to be composed mainly of spendthrifts who have lost their wealth in gambling. They are recruited from all castes, and they always add the title Shâh to their names. "They have," says Trumpp, "a Guruship of their own, and receive novices (*chela*); but there is no order or regular discipline among them." They live chiefly in large towns, and their principal Gurudwâra is at Lahore. They are also said to have shrines at Nâgar Sain, near Benares, and at Patiala; but as a rule they have no sacred places and spend their time in roving mendicancy."

2. Whenever they visit these Provinces they are regarded with extreme abhorrence, partly on account of the coarse way in which they demand alms and abuse and lampoon those who do not give in to their demands, and partly because they have the reputation of enticing away the sons of respectable people to join the order. Some of them say that they are the followers of one Jhakkar Shâh. Their distinctive mark is a straight line across the forehead made in black, and the ebony (*abnûs*) wood sticks which they beat together as they beg. A proverb current in the Eastern Districts says, in allusion to their rapacity,—*Kehu mûd, kehu jiyê, Suthra ghor batâsa piyê*: "Any one may live or die, but the Suthrashâhi must have his drink of sugar and water."

T

Taga.¹—An important cultivating and land-owning tribe confined almost altogether to the Upper Ganges-Jumna Duâb and Rohilkhand. They are divided into a Hindu and Muhammadan branch.

2. The Tagas claim to be of Brâhmanical origin, as Sir H. M.

Elliot writes :²—"They state that they were
Traditional origin. invited from Bengal to these parts by Râja

Janamejaya for the purpose of exterminating snakes ; which fable, though sufficiently ridiculous in itself, no doubt veils under an allegorical type a most important historical fact. The circumstances attending the sacrifice of the snakes by Janamejaya are preserved by local tradition in almost the same form as they are given in the *Adi Parva* of the *Mahâbhârata*. A garrulous old Taga, who has perhaps never read or even heard a line of that poem, will tell you how Râja Parichat (*Parikshita*) was bitten to death by a snake, notwithstanding all the precautions he took to avoid it by seating himself on a platform in the middle of the Ganges ; how that Utang (*Utanka*), a Muni, persuaded Janamejaya, who had lately returned victorious from *Takshasila*, to avenge his father's death ; how that they were all exterminated, except *Takchak* (*Takshaka*), brother of the *Adityas*, and *Bâsuk* (*Vâsuki*), sovereign of the *Nâgas* of *Patâla* ; when, towards the end of the sacrifice, *Astik*, a holy man (of whose birth some marvellous particulars are given), came forward and obtained the promise of Janamejaya to spare their lives, which promise he dare not break, as it was exacted by a Brâhman ; and how that he was thus foiled in his object of sacrificing the chief offenders whom he had reserved for the close of the ceremony in order that none of their followers might come to their assistance.

"It was for the purpose of officiating at this serpent sacrifice that Janamejaya is said to have invited Brâhmins from Gaur. After they had performed all that he requested of them, he offered them remuneration, which some rejected, and others received in the shape of land ; on which account they were called Tagas from having

¹ Based on notes by M. Muhammad Ali, Head Master, Zillah School, Bijnor ; H. Fraser, Esq., C.S. Bijnor.

² *Supplementary Glossary* . S.V. *Gour Taga*.

consented to a relinquishment (*tyāg*) of their creed as Brāhmins, by pursuing agriculture, which they are forbidden by the Shāstras to practise.

3. "Those who continued to retain their titles and privileges as Brāhmins took up their abode chiefly in Hariyāna, while the Tagas remained in the neighbourhood of Hastinapur, within a circle of about one hundred miles round the ancient capital, where they are found to this day. This is the usual account.

"It is remarkable, however, that almost all the clans of Tagas state that they came from Hariyāna, not from Gaur, and even derive their names from places in that country, as, for instance, the Chûlat who say that their name is derived from Chûla in Bikanîr; and the Bikwāns, of Pur Châpar, who came from Bikanîr. It is, therefore, far more probable that the Brāhmins were already tenants of Hariyāna, that they must have settled there before Janamejaya's reign, and that the Tagas only, and not the Brāhmins, owe their residence to that powerful Râja; otherwise it is difficult to reconcile the apparent contradiction that he called Gaur Brāhmins from Bengal, and Gaur Tagas from Hariyāna; or it may be that the Brāhmins were invited from Gaur by Janamejaya, and afterwards settled in Hariyāna, and that the Tagas were invited by some succeeding Prince or Princes, after the Brāhmins had fully established themselves in Hariyāna; so that the occupation of the country round Hastinapur by the Tagas may be later than the occupation of Hariyāna by the Brāhmins. But what militates against this, and confirms the other hypothesis, is that it is expressly stated in the concluding section of the Mahābhārata that Janamejaya, 'having concluded the ceremonies of the sacrifice on which he had been engaged, dismissed the multitude of Brāhmins and other pious mendicants who had thronged to the place, loaded with presents, to their several abodes.'"

4. It is of course dangerous to press the details of a legend like this too far. Mr. Ibbetson¹ attempts to explain the difficulty of their legendary connection with Hariyāna by the fact that they give Safidon in Jhînd, on the border of Hariyāna, as the place where the holocaust took place, and the name of the town is not improbably connected with the snake (*śarp*). Whether, as Sir H. M. Elliot believed, their name was to be connected with the Takkas, who are

¹ *Panjab Ethnography*, para. 477.

believed to have been a Scythian race, with the snake as their totem or not, there seems reason to believe that the Tagas are probably the earliest inhabitants of the Upper Jumna lowlands (*kāddār*), holding villages that have been untouched by the course of the stream for a longer period than most of their neighbours.

5. Lower down the Ganges-Jumna Duāb, the Tagas, Gaur Brāhmins, and Nāgars of Bulandshahr firmly believe that Ahār in that district (said to be derived from *ahihāra*, "serpents destroyed") was the spot where their ancestors assisted Rāja Janamejaya in the snake sacrifice and got largesses and assignments in return. Another legend gives a less respectable account of their origin. It is said that having been tempted by the munificent gifts offered by a certain Rāja to married Brāhmins, a Gaur bachelor took in his company a common prostitute to the Rāja's Court to pass as a married man and obtain the gift. The device succeeded, but was soon after discovered, and then to escape the Rāja's displeasure the Brāhmin kept the prostitute for good as his wife. The progeny of this pair imitated the pure Brāhmins by wearing the Brāhminical cord (*tāga*), and hence they are called Tagas, or Brāhmins, in no other respect than that of wearing the cord. As an argument in support of the story, it is said that Taga women are still uncommonly fond of ornamenting their persons, a peculiarity supposed to be derived from their original ancestress.¹

6. On the whole it seems not unreasonable to believe that, like the Bhuinhār Brāhmins of the eastern part of the Province, the Tagas may have been originally Gaur Brāhmins, who lost status by abandoning priestly functions and taking to agriculture. At the same time their appearance, and the recognition of the Dasa or inferior grade, who allow widow marriage and are admittedly not of blue blood, leads to the inference that there has been at one time some admixture with other races. How far they really intermarry with other Brāhmins is not quite certain. In Gurgāon² it is said, that some thirty years ago one Gordhan, a Taga, was about to marry his daughter to a Gaur Brāhmin; but a council of Gaurs forbade it. Sir H. M. Elliot says that in the Dehli territory the Gaur Brāhmins and the Tagas frequently intermarry; but that the practice is not observed by the Gaurs of the Duāb and Rohilkhand.

¹ Rāja Lachhman Singh, *Bulandshahr Memo.* 124, 159, sq.

² *Settlement Report*, 32.

7. The records of the last Census show no less than one hundred and fifty-five sections of the Hindu and fifty-five of the Muhammadan branch. Many of these are well known Rājput or Brāhman tribes, such as Bāchhal, Bais, Bargala, Chauhān, Chandel, Dikhit, Gaur, Sanādh, Vasishtha. These appear to be exogamous groups framed on the Brāhman or Kshatriya model. But the really important division is into Dasa or Daswān, Bīsa or Biswān the "tens" and the "twenties," the former of whom allow widow marriage, which the latter prohibit. If a Bīsa allows this objectionable practice, he falls at once into the Dasa grade.

8. The Dasa and Bīsa form two endogamous groups, and within these groups they follow the usual rules of Brāhmanical exogamy. Polyandry and sexual license before marriage are strictly prohibited. Polygamy is allowed only when the first wife is barren. The age for marriage is from eight to fifteen. There is no legalised divorce; a faithless wife is simply expelled from the house. There is no bride-price; but it is usual to give a dowry with the bride. The domestic ceremonies are of the standard orthodox type.

9. The Hindu branch appear chiefly to worship Mahādeva. They are very careful to propitiate the sainted dead of the household. One way of appeasing the spirit of the dead man is to make an unmarried boy drink milk under a *pīpal* tree on the death day in every fortnight for a year, and then on each succeeding anniversary. Their priests are generally Gaur Brāhmans of an inferior grade.

10. The Tagas are a fine sturdy set of yeomen, all or nearly all occupied in agriculture. They are not as good farmers as the Jāts in their neighbourhood, but much more industrious and respectable than the Gūjars.

Distribution of the Tagas according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dūn	12	...	12
Sahāranpur	15,961	2,855	18,816
Muzaffarnagar	12,792	6,637	19,429

Distribution of the Tagas according to the Census of 1891—conold.

DISTRICT.	Hindus.	Muhammads.	TOTAL.
Meerut	43,290	12,049	55,339
Bulandshahr	6,508	40	6,548
Bijnor	10,952	...	10,952
Budāun	21	...	21
Morādābād	9,822	6,537	16,359
Shāhjahānpur	1	...	1
Tarāi	49	...	49
Hardoi	1	...	1
TOTAL .	99,409	28,118	127,527

Tambākugar, Tamkhera.—A dealer in tobacco (*tambāku*). This is hardly a caste, but was recorded as such in some of the Census schedules. One of the earliest references to tobacco in India is in the memoirs of the Emperor Jahāngīr¹ where he writes:—"As the smoking of tobacco (*tambāku*) had taken very bad effect upon the health and mind of many persons, I ordered that no one should practise the habit. My brother Shāh Abbās, also being aware of its evil effects, had issued a command against the use of it in Irān. But Khāni Alam was so much addicted to smoking that he could not abstain from it and often smoked."

Tamboli, Tamoli.²—(Sanskrit *tāmbūla*, the pungent and aromatic leaf of the *piper betel*).—The caste which is devoted to the cultivation and sale of *pān* (Sanskrit *parna*, "the leaf," *par excellence*). The man who cultivates the plant is properly called Barai (*q. v.*); but the respective functions of the Tamboli and Barai are not clearly defined. In Benares, according Mr. Sherring,³ there is no real distinction between them. There the Tamboli sells betelnut as well as *pān*, and appears to be more of a wholesale trader

¹ Dowson's Elliot, VI, 851; *Indian Antiquary*, I, 164.

² Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by M. Chhoté Lal, Archaeological Survey, Lucknow; Mr. A. B. Bruce, C. S., Ghasipur.

³ *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I, 380.

than the Barai. The sub-castes of both Tambolis and Barais are very similar, and if there is any real distinction it is very ordinarily overlooked.

2. At the last Census they were enumerated under the sub-castes of Chaurasiya, who seem to take their name from Pargana Chaurâsi in the Mirzapur District; Barai, Jaiswâr, from the town of Jais in the Râê Bareli District; and Kathyâr. In Agra we find the Barai, Chaurasiya, and Kathwâr, who are probably the Kathyâr of the Census enumeration and do not allow widow marriage. In Gorakhpur are the Tenduhâra, who are named from the *tendu* (Sanskrit *lin-duka*) the tree *diospyros embryopteris*, the fruit of which is occasionally eaten, and the Jaiswâr. In Lucknow we find the Chaurasiya, Jaiswâr, Sribâstav, who are named from the town of Srâvasti, the present Sahet-Mahet of Gonda, and the Jaunpuriya. In Ghâzipur we have the Nâsarkhâni, Chaurasiya, Bhadesiya, and Mathesiya or Madhesiya, who are residents of Madhyadesa, "the middle land." Another enumeration from Ghâzipur gives the sub-castes as Nâsarkhâni, Kharwâra, and Turk or Muhammadan Tambolis. In Allahâbâd are the Chaurasiya, Jaiswâr, and Sribâstav. The complete Census lists show 244 sub-divisions of the usual type, many taken from well known castes and septs, such as Aheriya, Bagheli, Baiswâla, Chhatri, Gaur, Gaharwâr, Jâdon, Janwâr, Kahâr, Kâyasthwâr, Kalwâr, Luniya, Nâgbansi, Nandbansi, Raghubansi, Râjput, Râthaur, Râwat, Thâkur, with local sub-divisions, like Aharwâr, Ajudhyabâsi, Bindrabani, Chaurasiya, Gangapâri, Jaiswâr, Jamunapâri, Jaunpuriya, Kanauiya, Mathuriya, and Sribâstavi. All these are endogamous, and the only regular rule of exogamy is that a man cannot intermarry with a family with which, during human memory, his family has been connected by marriage.

3. Among the better classes marriage usually takes place in infancy, and the bride does not come to live with her husband until she is nubile, when there is a second ceremony (*gauna*.) All the Tambolis, except the Kathyâr sub-caste, appear to allow widow marriage and the levirate, but the latter is not compulsory on the widow. Polygamy is allowed, and a man can put away his wife by leave of the tribal council if she is guilty of adultery or of some other act which involves excommunication from the caste. In their domestic ceremonies the Tambolis follow the orthodox rules current among the

trading castes of the same social grade. They cremate their adult dead and perform the usual *śrāddha*. At marriage the Tambolis of the east of the Province have a rite, which seems special to them, called *Ahorbahor*; the bride and bridegroom jointly pay five visits to the family of the other before they finally live together.

4. By preference they seem to be usually Vaishnavas. But they have no special connection with any particular sect. In Lucknow some are said to be Saivas, Sāktas, Nānakshāhis or Kabīrpanthis. There some worship Brahm Gusāin and Narsinha, and some affect the Vama-chāri worship of Bhītari Devi. Early in the morning, when they open their shops, they burn some incense before the little wooden box in which they keep their *pān*, with a view to propitiate Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth. In November the Tambolis of Ghāzi-pur go to a place called Magha, in the Patna District, where a particularly fine kind of *pān*, called *Magahi pān*, is grown. There is here a temple known as that of Sokha Bāba, containing a lingam of Mahādeva, which they all worship and invoke prosperity in their trade. Some of the offerings are brought home and distributed among friends and relations. On their return, an offering of a bundle and a quarter of the leaves is made to Mahābir on a Tuesday, which is his day.

5. The special occupation of the caste is the cultivation and sale of *pān*. The leaves are made up and sold in bundles of two hundred each, known as a *dholi* of *pān*. There are numerous varieties. Mr. Hoey¹ enumerates in Lucknow the *Kapūri*, *Kaker*, *Bangla* or Bengali, *Begami*, *Desāwari* or "foreign," and *Kalkatiya* or Calcutta *pān*. Abūl Fazl names six varieties.² "The leaf called Bilahri is white and shining, and does not make the tongue harsh and hard. It tastes best of all kinds. After it has been taken away from the creeper, it turns white with some care after a month, or even after twenty days, when greater efforts are made. The Kakar leaf is white, with spots, and full, and has hard veins. When much of it is eaten the tongue gets hard. The Jaiswār leaf does not get white, and is profitably sold, mixed with other kinds. The Kapūri leaf is yellowish, hard, and full of veins, but has a good taste and smell. The Kapūrkant leaf is yellowish-green, and

¹ *Monograph*, 189.

² Blochmann, *Atn-i-Akbari*, I, 72.

pungent like pepper; it smells like camphor. You could not eat more than ten leaves. It is to be had at Benares, but even there it does not thrive in every soil. The Banglah leaf is broad, full, hard, plushy, hot and pungent." The leaf is made up for sale with catechu (*kathā*), lime (*chāna*), betel-nut (*supāri*), and cardamoms (*ilāchi*), and is then known as *βira* or *gilauri*.

6. The Tamboli, from his connection with the production and sale of what is almost a necessity in Indian life, holds a fairly respectable position. They observe a high degree of personal purity, and will eat *kachchi* only if cooked by a member of their own caste, and *pakki* cooked by a Brāhman or Halwāi. They will eat goat's flesh and fish, but not, of course, beef or pork. Many of them are Bhagats, and avoid the use of meat and spirituous liquor, the latter of which is permitted to those under no special vow. They have a special reverence for the conservatory (*bhūt*) in which the creeper is raised, which is carefully protected from any kind of ceremonial pollution, and for the scissors (*sarautā*) used in preparing the leaf. *Pān* of course finds a place in the popular wisdom of the countryside:—

Sukhat achchhi baithē khāiyē Nāgar pān. Buri sukhat baithkē kataiyē nāk aur kār—"Sit in good company and eat Nāgar betel: sit in bad company and you get your nose and ears cut off."

Bina vasīlē chākari, bina dhāl kē juān, ye tīnon phīke lagēn, bina tamāku pān—"Service without a patron, a young man without a shield, and betel without tobacco are all four tasteless."

Distribution of the Tambolis according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	HINDUS.					Muham- madans	TOTAL.
	Barai.	Chau- rasiya.	Jais- wār.	Kath- yār.	Others.		
Dehra Dūn . .	24	62	12	...	37	...	135
Sahāranpur	7	...	...	97	...	104
Muzaffarnagar	11	...	...	61	...	72
Meerut	320	3	323
Bulandshahr	94	77	171
Aligarh	5	429	8	442

3. They are orthodox Hindus and to the east of the Province employ Tiwâri Brâhmans of the Sarwariya tribe as their family priests. They usually worship Devi in her form as Bhâgawati, the Pâñchon Pîr, and especially Ghâzi Miyân : to the south of Mirzapur, Hardiha Deva or Hardaur Lâla. These deities receive an offering of sweetmeats, cakes (*malîda*), betel leaves, garlands of flowers, and occasionally a cock is sacrificed. This is not consumed by the worshippers but presented to a Muhammadan faqîr. Bhâgawati is sometimes worshipped by pouring a mixture of pepper, sugar, and water (*mirch-wân*) at her shrine.

4. Their primary occupation is making the *tarki*, a cylinder of folded palm leaves nearly an inch in diameter and with an outer boss decorated with beads, etc., which is worn by low caste Hindu women stuck through a hole in the lobe of the ear. They also go about to fairs and sell red lead (*sindur*), and forehead spangles (*tikuli*), which are worn by married women. They also sell various kinds of spices. They use liquor and eat the flesh of sheep, goats, deer, and fish. Brâhmans will drink water from their hands. Only Chamârs and menial tribes will eat *kachchi* or *pakki* cooked by them. They eat *pakki* cooked by all the Vaisya tribes, except Kalwârs, Telis, and Bharbhûnjas.

Distribution of the Tarkihârs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Cawnpur	59	...	59
Fatehpur	105	...	105
Bânda	309	8	317
Allahâbâd	347	6	353
Mirzapur	7	...	7
Jaunpur	48	...	48
Gorakhpur	13	...	13
Azamgarh	3	...	3

Distribution of the Tarkihârs according to the Census of 1891—concluded.

DISTRICT.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Lucknow	811	...	811
Unâo	123	...	123
Rââ Bareli	361	...	361
Faizâbâd	33	...	33
Gonda	9	...	9
Bahrâich	96	...	96
Sultânpur	147	...	147
Partâbgarh	200	...	200
Bârabanki	62	.	62
TOTAL	2,733	14	2,747

Tarmâli.—A sub-caste of Pâsis who have been separately enumerated at the last Census. They take their name from *târ-mâlâ* "to press the toddy palm tree." They are recorded to the number of 27 only in Faizâbâd.

Tawâif (plural of *tasfa*, "a troop or company of dancing-girls"¹).—The caste of dancing-girls and prostitutes. The term is a general one, but is more generally applied to those who are of the Muhammadan faith. The Hindu branch is often called by the title Pâtar, Patoriva, Pâtur, Paturiya from the Sanskrit *pâtira*, "an actor." Kanchan, which is usually derived from the Sanskrit *kanchana*, "gold" (but this is far from certain), is usually regarded as the equivalent of Tawâif and denotes the Muhammadan branch. The ordinary prostitute, of whatever religion she may be, is often known as Randi (*rânr*), Sanskrit *randa*, "mutilated," "a widow," from which class, where widow marriage is prohibited, the class is commonly recruited, or Kasbi (Arabic *Kasb*, harlotry). The large class who prostitute *sub rosa* or live as kept mistresses

¹ Mainly based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Chaudhari Dhyân Sinh, Moradâbâd, M. Chhotê Lal, Lucknow, M. Sayyid Ali Bahâdur, Partâbgarh.

are generally known as Khânagi, "domestic" (*khāna*, "a house") or Harjāi, "a gadabout." The last Census classes most of the Hindu dancing-girls and prostitutes as Paturiya, and the Muhammadans as Tawâif. The lists of the so-called sub-castes of the Paturiya contain a number of names, no less than forty-nine in all, which it is impossible to class by any definite principle. Of these the best known are the Bharua (Sanskrit *bhāta*, "wages"), who is a pimp or pander; Gandharap, who represent, in name at least, the Gandharva of the old mythology, who lived in the sky, prepared the *soma* juice for the gods, were partial to women, over whom they exercised a mystic influence; Kanchan, Kasbi, Kashmîri, who are usually classed with Nats, the Râmjani (Sanskrit *râma-janî* "charming woman,") whose name the English sailor and soldier corrupts into Rummy Johnny; and the Râsdhâri, a name which means "singer," and is specially applied at Mathura to a set of Brâhmans who perform a sort of miracle play describing the loves of Krishna and his consort Râdha.¹

2. Similarly the term Tawâif includes a number of distinct classes. Among these are the Gandharap, Kanchan, Kashmîri, Paturiya, and Râmjani, already mentioned, among the Hindu class, and the Baksariya or "those who come from Baksar" in Bengal; the Hurukiya, who take their name from the *huruk* (Sanskrit *hūd-duka*), the small drum, shaped like an hour glass, to which they dance; the Kabûtari, who is usually classed with the Nats, and is so called because she has the flitting ways of a pigeon (*kabûtar*); the Mangta or "beggars;" the Mirâsi, who is a Dom singer; the Miskâr or Mîshikâr, "the chief huntsman," who is a Baheliya; and the Nâik or Nâika (Sanskrit *nayaka*, "leader"), a term specially applied to the mistress of a brothel. In addition to these is the Gaunhârin or "attendant" (Sanskrit *gamanadhâra*), who attends at festivals and occasions of rejoicing, and sings and dances to the music of the violin (*saringi*) and the drum (*tabla*); the Brajbâsi or "resident of the land of Braj," who, like the Râsdhâri, is associated with the dances in honour of Krishna and Râdha; and the Negpâtar, who receives dues (*neg*) for performances.

3. Of such a miscellaneous class as this it is impossible to give more than some notes of the more interesting sub-divisions.

¹ Growse, *Mathura*, 75, sq.

4. Of the Kumaun Nâiks Mr. Atkinson writes :¹—"The Nâiks, whose pretty village in the Râmgarh valley and settlements at Haldwâni are so striking, owe their origin to the wars of Bharati Chand with Doti, when the first standing armies in Kumaun took the field, and the soldiers contracted temporary alliances with the women of the place, whose descendants became known as Khatak-wâla, and eventually, Nâik. The offspring of these professional prostitutes, if a male, is called Nâyak or Nâik ; and if a female, Pâta. They soon became celebrated all over India, and in 1554 A.D. Shîr Shâh undertook the siege of Kalinjar to secure possession of a Pâta kept by Kirat Sinh. Notwithstanding their origin the Nâyaks contrive to belong to that well-abused *gotra*, the Bhâradvaja, and to the great mid-Hind *Sākha*. They even wear the sacred thread, though with only three strands, like the common Khasiya. They marry their sons into Râjput families on paying a considerable sum, but devote all their daughters to prostitution. Nâyaks live by cultivation and trade, and their villages in the Bhâbar are about the best. The son can succeed to the property of his uncle, and the daughters can leave their property to any relative. If a daughter has a son, he performs her funeral ceremonies ; if not, her brother performs them. They are attached to the left hand *Sākta* ceremonial, and eat animal food, and are, strange to say, reported to be careful in ceremonial observances. They have a story of their own ; of a brother and sister going on pilgrimage to Badarinâth, and the latter falling into evil ways ; but the account first given is more probable, and has better evidence to support it."

5. According to another story one of the Kings of Kumaun had two slave girls : one of whom married a Râjput, and her descendants are known as Râjkanya ; and the other, who married a Hill Chhatri, was the ancestress of the Pâtars. The Pâtars are Hindus and worship Devi, Bholanâth, Kallu Pir, and Bhairon. Their girls are trained in singing and dancing and prostitute themselves. They are not married in their own tribe, which procures wives by purchase from other castes. When they are nubile the Pâtar girls marry a *pîpal* tree, and then commence their career of prostitution. The Râjkanyas dance in the temples of the Hindu gods, and among them prostitution is said to be rare.

¹ *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III, 448.

6. Of ten classes of prostitutes found ordinarily in the plains, two, the Râmjani and Gandharap, are practically all Hindus : the Magahiya, Chhâta, Janghariya Naurangi, Mirâsi, Gaunhârin, Domin and Akâshkâmini are nearly all Muhammadans. None of these marry their daughters. When their sons reach marriageable age they purchase a girl of some low Hindu or Muhammadan tribe and marry her to him. These married women are not allowed to prostitute. The sons, as they grow up, are supported by the earnings of the girls, and act as their pimps and attendant musicians (*bhanras*). They wander about from one inn (*sardî*) and town to another in search of business, and attend marriages and festivals, where they sing and dance. Hindus have, generally, as their personal god (*Ishtadevata*) Krishna, and as their guardian deity Mahâdeva. They employ the very lowest class of Brâhmans in their domestic ceremonies, and cremate their dead.

7. Muhammadans admit any Musalmân girl to their society, and Hindus, after they have embraced Islâm. They are continually recruited from Hindu widows, and discarded or deserted wives. When a girl is seven or eight years old, she is put under the instruction of a Dhârhi or Kathak, who teaches her to dance and sing. At the commencement of her education, some sweetmeats are offered at a mosque, and then distributed among Muhammadan faqîrs. At the first lesson the master is given a present in money and some sweetmeats, and their fees are about four or five rupees *per mensem*. When the girl reaches puberty and the breast begins to develop the rite of *angiya* or the "assumption of the boddice" is performed. On this occasion some of the brethren are feasted. After this the girl is sold to some rich paramour. This is known as *Sir dhankûi* or "the covering of the head." When she returns after her first visit to her paramour, the brethren are feasted on sweetmeats. After this follows the rite of *missi*, which takes its name from the black powder used in colouring the teeth.

She is dressed like a bride and is taken in procession through the streets and afterwards takes her seat at a party (*mafiil*), where the brethren assemble and sing and dance. Her teachers (*usadâ*) are remunerated, and the brethren are fed on *kachchi* and *pakki* according to the means of the family. This feast may be postponed ; but in that case she cannot stain her teeth until it is duly performed,

and some sort of entertainment of the brotherhood is obligatory. This rule is said now at Lucknow to be gradually relaxed. The *missi* represents the final initiation into a life of harlotry. After the rite of *missi* the girl ceases to wear the nose-ring, and hence the ceremony is sometimes known as *nathni utarna*, the taking off of nose-ring.

8. Some of these girls contract what are known as temporary or usufructuary marriages (*mut'ah*). In the Temporary marriage.

Ain-i-Akbari there is a curious account of a discussion in the presence of the Emperor Akbar as to the legality of such unions. The case was finally thus summed up by Badâoni. Imâm Malik, and the Shiahs are unanimous in looking upon *Mut'ah* marriages as legal; Imâm Ash-Shâfi' and the great Imâm Ali Hanîfah look on *mut'ah* marriages as illegal. But should at any time a Qâzi of the Malaki sect decide that *mut'ah* is legal, it is legal, according to the common belief, even for Shâfi's and Hanîfahs. Every other opinion on this subject is idle talk. This pleased the Emperor, and he at once appointed a Qâzi, who gave a decree which made *mut'ah* marriages legal.¹

9. One curious point as regards Indian prostitutes is the tolerance with which they are received into even respectable houses, and the absence of that strong social disfavour in which this class is held in European countries. This feeling has prevailed for a lengthened period. We read in the Buddhist histories of Ambapâta, the famous courtesan of Visala, and of the Princess Salawati, who was appointed courtesan, and the price of her favours fixed at two thousand masurans.² The same feeling appears in the folk-tales and early records of Indian castes.³ It has been supposed that this idea is based on the prevalence of communistic marriage.⁴

10. Tânsen, the celebrated musician, is a sort of patron saint of dancing-girls. He was a native of Patna and The Saint Tânsen. a disciple of the famous Hari Dâs Gusâin, of Bindrabai. He went to the court of Akbar, became a Muhammadan,

¹ Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 173.

² Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, 244.

³ Tawney, *Katha Sarit Sâgara*, I, 354; II, 621; *Dabistan*, II, 154.

⁴ Darwin, *Descent of Man*, II, 361; Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 96; Wake, *Serpent Worship*, 149; Robertson Smith, *Kinship*, 143; Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 80.

and is buried at Gwâlior. It is said that he used to listen to the men singing at the well and appropriate their melodies. His contemporary and rival Brij Baula was able, it is said, to split a rock with a single note. The story goes that he learnt his bass from the creaking of the flour-mill. It is believed that chewing the leaves of the tree over the grave of Tânsen gives an astonishing melody to the voice, and singing girls make pilgrimages there for this purpose.¹

Distribution of castes of Prostitutes and Dancing-girls according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	HINDU.	MUSALMÂN.			TOTAL.
	Paturiya.	Tawâif.		Others.	
		Bakariya.	Harkaya.		
Dehra Dûn . . .	...	...	...	11	11
Sahârunpur . . .	43	...	..	707	750
Muzaffarnagar . . .	2	1	1	537	541
Meerut . . .	...	...	...	571	571
Bulandshahr . . .	1	...	...	474	475
Aligarh . . .	4	...	4	250	258
Mathura . . .	...	3	...	87	90
Agra . . .	2	...	105	272	379
Farrukhâbâd . . .	182	236	...	1,036	1,454
Mainpuri . . .	...	...	26	500	526
Etâwah . . .	...	...	513	581	1,094
Etah . . .	...	...	...	1,080	1,080
Bareilly . . .	...	...	...	74	74
Bijnor . . .	...	...	...	260	260
Budâun . . .	98	...	...	591	689
Morâdâbâd . . .	8	...	...	211	219

¹ Bholanâth Chandra, *Travels*, II, 68, sq. : Sleeman, *Rambles*, II, 333, sq. : Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, II, 370; XXI, 110.

Distribution of castes of Prostitutes and Dancing-girls according to the Census of 1891—continued.

DISTRICT.	HINDU.	MUSALMÂN.			TOTAL.
	Paturiya.	Tawâif.		Others.	
		Bakariya.	Hurkaya.		
Shâhjahanpur . . .	59	...	...	593	652
Rilbhit . . .	...	...	...	90	90
Cawnpur . . .	106	...	7	943	1,056
Fatehpur . . .	18	18	...	479	515
Bânda . . .	75	...	...	89	164
Hamirpur . . .	7	...	...	72	79
Allahâbâd . . .	159	...	...	360	519
Jhânsi . . .	...	...	...	61	61
Jâlaun . . .	11	...	6	103	120
Lalitpur . . .	...	...	...	9	9
Benares . . .	301	...	...	125	426
Mirzapur . . .	74	...	...	84	158
Jaunpur . . .	763	...	...	170	933
Ghâzipur . . .	807	...	...	854	1,661
Ballia . . .	117	...	...	213	330
Gorakhpur . . .	207	...	...	1,490	1,697
Basti . . .	69	...	...	27	96
Azamgarh . . .	1,160	...	...	426	1,586
Kumaun . . .	63	...	...	...	63
Tarâi . . .	...	...	...	21	21
Lucknow . . .	21	22	...	567	610
Unâo . . .	21	9	...	335	365
RAE Bareilly . . .	5	...	42	545	592
Sitapur . . .	16	4	4	1,371	1,395

*Distribution of castes of Prostitutes and Dancing-girls according to
the Census of 1891—concluded.*

DISTRICT.	HINDU.	MUSALMÂN.			TOTAL.
	Paturiya.	Tawâif.		Others.	
		Bakariya.	Hurkaya.		
Hardoi . . .	7	...	...	1,801	1,808
Kheri. . .	...	...	...	850	850
Faizâbâd . . .	2	...	...	87	89
Gonda . . .	180	...	...	324	504
Bahrâich . . .	36	...	10	936	982
Sultânpur . . .	86	...	...	612	698
Partâbgarh . .	...	...	...	395	395
Bârabanki . . .	...	...	...	684	684
TOTAL .	4,710	293	718	21,958	27,679

Teli¹—(Sanskrit *tailika*, *taila*, “oil expressed from sesamum, mustard, etc.”).—A large caste of pressers of oil and traders in various commodities. The caste is probably a functional group which Mr. Risley² thinks must have been recruited from the respectable class of Hindu society, because “oil is used by all Hindus for domestic and ceremonial purposes, and its manufacture could only be carried on by men whose social purity was beyond dispute.” Whatever the case may be in Bengal, in Northern India there is no special idea of purity attached to the Teli; in fact it is probably not too much to say that the reverse is the fact. Mr. Ibbetson³ says of the Panjāb:—“The Teli is of low social standing, perhaps about the same as that of the Julāha, with whom he is often associated, and he is hardly less turbulent and troublesome than the latter.”

2. The tribe seems to be singularly destitute of traditions of origin. In most of our Districts all they can say is that they are indigenous. The Tribal traditions.

¹ Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by the Deputy Inspectors of Schools, Farrukhābād, Agra, Azamgarh, Basti.

² *Tribes and Castes*, II, 305.

³ *Panjāb Ethnography*, paragraph 647.

sub-divisions with local names derive, of course, their origin from the places which supply their title. In Mirzapur they tell a story that there was once a man who had three sons and owned fifty-two *mahua* trees (*bassia latifolia*). When he became aged and infirm, he took his sons to the grove and told them to divide them among themselves. After some discussion they decided not to divide the trees, but the produce of them. One of them fell to collecting the leaves and he became a Bhaibhūnja or grain-parcher, who still uses leaves in his oven; the second collected the flowers and corollas and, having distilled them, became a Kalwâr; the third collected the kernels (*konua*), crushed them and became a Teli.

3. At the last census the Telis were classed in a number of endogamous sub-castes: Byâhut, who are so called because they do not allow widow marriage and marry virgin brides by the standard form (*byâh*); Jaiswâr, named from the old town of Jais in the Râê Bareli district; Jaunpuri, who trace their origin to Jaunpur; Kanauiya to Kanauj; Mathuriya to Mathura; Râthaur, which is the name of a famous Râjput sept; Sribâstab from the ancient city of Srâvasti, now represented by the ruins of Sahet-Mahet in pargana Balrâmpur of the Gonda district; and Umarê, which is the name of one of the Banya sub-castes. It will be observed how largely local designations appear in this list. Besides these among the Muhammadan branch, we find the Bahlm, Desi, Doâsna and Ekâsna. In Mirzapur we find the Kanauiya, Sribâstava, Pachhiwâha or "Western;" Byâhuta, Bhainsaha, who carry goods on the male buffalo (*bhainsa*), Chachara, who are said to take their name from their fondness for the *chachar* (Sanskrit, *charchara*), the special song sung at the Holi festival; and the Turkiya or Muhammadan Teli. In Benares, according to Mr. Sherring,¹ the divisions are the Byâhutbans, the same as the Byâhuta mentioned above; the Kanauiya; Jaunpuriya; Sribâstav; Banarasiya, or those of Benares, Jaiswâra; Lâhauri, from Lahore; and the Gulhariya and Gulhâni; of all of whom the Gulhâni are the lowest. The Jaunpuriya are said not to deal in oil but in pulse (*dal*). In Farrukhâbâd we have the Râthaur, Parnâmi, Rethi, Jaiswâr, Sriwâr, Mathuriya, and Bhiân. In Basti we find the Biâhut. Jaunpuri, Kanauiya, Turkiya, and Saithwâr, which last is a Kurmi sub-caste. In Pilibhît are the Purbiya or

¹ *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I, 301.

"Eastern," Bhadauriya, which is a well-known Rājput sept, the Rāthaur, Tilbhurjiya or parchers of sesamum. In Azamgarh the sub-castes are Jaunpuri, Byāhut, Kalaunjiya, which is possibly a corruption of Kanaujiya, Barbhaiya or "the greater brethren," Madhesiya or "dwellers in the middle land," Madhya-deśa, which is, according to tradition, the country lying between the Himālaya on the north, the Vindhya range on the south, Vinasama or Kurukshetra on the west, Prayāga or Allāhābād on the east; and Turk or the Musalmān Branch. In Agra we have the Rāthaur, Chamār Teli and Musalmān Teli. To the east of the Province again they are divided into the Pachpiriya or worshippers of the Pānchon Pīr, and the Mahabiriya or devotees of Mahābīr. All these sub-castes are endogamous. In Azamgarh it is said that this is certainly the case with the Jaunpuri, Byāhut, and Barbhaiya; but that the Kalaunjiya and the Madhesiya sometimes intermarry. The census returns show 742 sections in the Hindu and 239 in the Muhammadan branch. Of these those of the greatest local importance are the Kaithiya of Mainpuri, the Parnāmi of Cawnpur, the Surahiya of Allāhābād, the Bātra of Jhānsi and Lalitpur, the Māhur of Mirzapur, the Baraniya, Kaithiya, Mukeri and Parnāmi of Jaunpur, the Dakkhināha and Jhijhautiya of Gorakhpur and Basti, the Bahrāichiya of Bahrāich, and the Makanpuri of Partābgarh. To the east of the Province the rule of exogamy seems to be that a man cannot marry in his own family (*kul*) or in that of the maternal uncle or father's sister until at least three generations have passed. In Farukhābād a man cannot marry a near relation or the descendant of a common ancestor or of a blood relation on the father's or mother's side as long as any relationship is remembered; he cannot marry two sisters at the same time, but he may marry the sister of his deceased wife.

4. Marriage customs of the Telis are of the usual respectable kind.

Marriage customs. All except the Byāhut, allow widow marriage.

There are usually three forms of marriage: *Byāh*, *Shādī*, *Charhaua* or *Charhéké*, when the marriage takes place according to the orthodox ritual at the house of the bride; *dola* when the ceremonies are done at the house of the bridegroom; and *dharauna* or *sagāi* for widows. Among the more respectable families the preference is for the marriage of a girl in infancy (*kunwāri*), and it is considered disreputable to keep a girl who has menstruated (*rajasthala*, *rujasula*) unmarried. To take the rules in Azamgarh

as an example, in *dharauna* or widow marriage, the binding portion of the rite is "foot worship" (*pāḍ-pāḍī*), when the father of the woman puts her hand in that of the bridegroom. In ordinary marriages the rite of *tilak* is performed twice, and if after the first the boy dies, the girl will not be regarded as a widow and can be married by the rite of *pāḍ-pāḍī*. The two occasions on which the *tilak* rite is performed are at betrothal (*mangani*) and at marriage. At betrothal the form is that the bride's father comes to the house of the bridegroom; at the appointed time he washes, first the right, and then the left foot of his future son-in-law, and throws some rice at his feet. Next, with the point of his thumb directed towards the boy's nose, he makes four lines, with curds, on his forehead; on the curd mark he sticks seven grains of rice, and touches the boy's forehead with the sacred *kusa* grass, water, curds, rice, and red sandalwood. During the *tilak* rite at marriage, if the bride be less than eleven years old, she is seated in the lap of her father; if above that age, on a leaf mat (*pattal*). After the *tilak* rite the girl's father puts her hand in that of her husband and lets some *kusa* grass, water, rice and money fall into his hand. A widow generally marries the younger brother of her late husband; but the levirate is not enforced, and the woman's right of choice is recognised. A wife can be divorced for adultery and a man for adultery with a woman of another caste. In both cases the sanction of the tribal council is essential.

5. The Turkiya, Bahlîm, Desi, Doāsna and Ekāsna Telis are Muhammadans; the others are Hindus, but they seldom procure initiation into one of the standard sects. Their clan deities to the east of the Province are Ghâzi Miyân and other members of the quintette of the Pânchon Pîr, Hardiya or Hardaur Lâla, the godling of cholera, Mahâbîr and Mahâdeva. Ghâzi Miyân is worshipped with an offering of goats, fowls, rice, boiled with pulse (*khihari*), bread, garlands of flowers, a head-dress (*muraiṭh*), and a small loin cloth (*langot*). The other members of the Pânchon Pîr receive similar offerings. Bread, a Brâhmanical cord, and rose perfume (*'itr*) are offered to Mahâbîr and Mahâdeva. Hardiya receives, during cholera epidemics, a sacrifice of goats, fowls, and young pigs. In the Central Duâb a sacrifice of a goat or ram is made to Devi and to Shaikh Saddu, who is the women's godling. Any one can do the Devi sacrifice, but Shaikh Saddu is served by a Mujâwar. Among god-

lings of the aboriginal races they acknowledge Jakhai Deota, whose priest is a Dhānuk. They are served by Brāhmans of the usual officiant classes. They cremate their dead and perform the funeral rites according to the orthodox ritual.

6. Their special business is the manufacture of oil, and in almost every bāzār the Teli may be seen driving his little blind-folded ox round his oil mill. But the recent extension of the use of foreign mineral oils must be seriously interfering with his business. Medicinal oils are made by the Gandhi. The Teli usually makes at least three kinds of oil.¹ The first class includes linseed (*alsi, tisi*), mustard (*sarson*), poppy-seed (*dānaposta, khashkhash*), black mustard (*tūya mahua*, cocoanut (*gola nāryal*), sesamum (*til*), *eruca sativa*, (*idhi*), safflower (*kusum*), *gehūān*, a wheat grass yielding grain, and the berries of the *nīm* tree (*nīmkauri*). These are all crushed and oil expressed from them in the ordinary mill (*kolhu*). Castor oil (*rendi kā tel*) forms a class in itself. The third class consists of some oils of a medicinal nature, such as that from the almond (*bādām*). Those who work the oil mill treat it as a sort of fetish and a representative of Mahādeva, and worship it at the Dasahra festival. Many of them have taken to shopkeeping of various kinds, money-lending, dealing in grain, and agriculture. As a rule Telis will eat goat's flesh, mutton, fowls, and fish. Those of the Sribāstav sub-caste are said to eat pork. They will drink spirituous liquor. In Azamgarh the Barbhāiya sub-caste are said to be peculiar in refusing to wear any torn clothes, and if they cannot afford new clothes prefer to go partly unclothed. They are said to worship like Brāhmans. As has been already said, the social position of the Teli is not a high one. *Kahān Rājā Bhoj, kahān Lakhu Teli?*—"What comparison is there between a real gentleman and a Teli upstart even if he be made of money?" *Teli kya jānē musk ki sār?*—"What can a Teli know of the smell of musk?" The women say *Teli khasam kiga rukha khāwē*—"Marry a Teli and live on dry crusts." The Teli's ox is, of course, proverbial, *Teli ke bail ko ghar hi kos pachās*—"Though he stays at home the Teli's ox does his hundred miles," and *Teli ka bail* is the common term for the man who slaves for nothing.

¹ See Hoey, *Monograph*, 191, sq.

Distribution of Telis according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	HINDUS.									MUHAMMADANS.					
	Byahut.	Jalawar.	Jaunpur.	Kanaujya.	Mathuraya.	Bathaur.	Sribastab.	Umar.	Others.	Bahlm.	Desi.	Dohans.	Ekasna.	Others.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dún	437	212	..	..	..	..	..	..	90	157	..	..	..	2,668	3,564
Saharanpur	1	91	..	..	..	..	..	..	248	573	4,048	4,276	1,434	37,438	48,109
Muzaffarnagar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	50	326	8,550	..	3,368	12,292
Meerut	..	..	..	..	..	129	..	..	863	..	..	1,995	3,057	11,673	17,717
Bulandshahr	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	783	498	..	..	..	7,369	8,660
Aligarh	..	..	..	..	..	1,197	..	..	1,218	1,432	..	..	..	6,884	10,731
Mathura	..	..	..	..	..	659	..	..	1,274	..	..	..	..	4,427	6,360
Agra	..	..	..	4	..	7,204	1	..	1,417	..	..	..	..	4,513	13,139
Farrukhabad	15	..	..	88	32	14,743	83	..	260	..	..	..	..	..	15,231
Mainpuri	..	..	..	8	..	9,503	2,295	..	883	..	..	..	..	57	12,746
Etawah	..	..	..	32	265	12,737	..	..	1,256	..	..	..	..	..	14,290

Etah	.	.	6	76	1	4,098	5,446	...	...	804	24	...	...	...	1,261	11,710
Bareilly	.	.	...	...	...	3,150	14,885	...	...	579	156	...	...	...	3,382	22,152
Bijnor	.	.	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	255	12,750	13,009
Budann	.	.	...	...	...	3,773	6,958	...	...	211	369	21	...	...	3,703	15,035
Moradabad	.	.	...	...	...	...	233	...	...	151	85	...	...	...	14,183	14,652
Shahjahanpur	.	.	...	...	8	6	23,629	83	...	560	...	...	...	...	7	24,330
Pilibhit	.	.	2	37	64	2	10,450	...	...	608	500	2	...	...	343	12,077
Cawnpur	.	.	80	...	148	...	19,342	5,284	1,657	1,871	...	...	...	...	...	29,787
Fatehpur	.	.	40	...	15	...	...	11,557	278	1,148	...	...	...	...	5	13,161
Banda	.	.	426	3	6	...	6	8,929	1,699	1,467	...	...	...	...	...	12,536
Hazratpur	.	.	...	...	...	80	3,241	6,817	405	736	...	...	...	...	...	11,279
Allahabad	.	.	20,785	...	68	...	8	4,814	440	2,484	...	...	...	...	48	28,647
Jhansi	.	.	...	6	...	...	753	751	...	7,536	...	...	...	...	4	9,050
Jalaun	.	.	1,083	...	...	12	7,638	67	...	1,328	...	...	...	...	...	10,128
Lalitpur	.	.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,963	...	...	...	...	...	6,963
Pemares	.	.	15,645	...	1,077	...	...	...	...	2,455	...	...	...	...	...	20,450
Mirzapur	.	.	23,610	45	561	293	...	...	...	286	...	...	...	...	107	25,232

Hardol	.	...	760	...	1	..	28,296	...	295	...	...	...	...	107	29,459
Kheri	.	...	5,604	...	2,524	..	9,857	1	73	733	...	...	...	187	18,979
Faizabad	.	4,432	1,523	8,812	236	...	...	191	478	1,396	...	...	...	925	17,993
Gonda	.	19,850	627	2,313	...	...	...	11	51	2,776	...	...	...	3,581	29,209
Bahradich	.	4,931	5,433	107	10	...	229	...	2,177	3,079	...	...	...	5,096	21,063
Sultanpur	.	6,364	3,752	4,450	260	...	...	...	2,572	...	...	...	...	686	18,064
Partabgarh	.	11,202	31	402	65	...	..	...	3,885	...	..	...	...	6	15,591
Barebanki	.	...	9,939	...	4	...	...	...	758	4,604	...	...	...	6,665	21,970
Total	.	132,989	74,420	67,455	119,435	11,750	194,071	41,187	95,500	24,656	4,397	14,821	4,745	145,984	994,031

Thâru.¹—A tribe which has its head-quarters in the Himâlayan Tarâi and colonies in the Gorakhpur Division and Northern Oudh. Mr. Nesfield, who has given an elaborate account of these people, says :—"To the east they extend about as far as the river Kusi, where they come in contact with the Mechas, a tribe similar to themselves in habits and features, and inhabiting that portion of the Tarâi which separates the plains of Bengal from the hills of Sikkhim. To the west they extend as far as the river Sârda, which flows between Kumaun and Nepâl. At this point they dovetail with another forest tribe similar to themselves in appearance and culture, the Bhukasas. The strictly Bhuksa country commences from the Gola or Kicha river, about thirty miles to the west of the Sârda, and extends westward as far as the Ganges, while a few straggling villages are to be found still further west as far as the Jumna. Between the Sârda and the Gola rivers there is a debatable tract, about thirty miles wide, in which both tribes occasionally reside. In one village at least, and probably in more, the inhabitants are the progeny of mixed parentage, although intermarriage between the tribes is not openly allowed by either."

2. Many attempts have been made to explain the origin of the Thâru.² Some of these are sufficiently absurd. Thus some derive it from *tahré*, "they halted," after their alleged flight into the forest; others from *tarkua*, "wet," in allusion to the swampy nature of the tract in which they live. A Pandit told Mr. Carnegy that it was derived from *thal* (Sanskrit *sthala*, "firm ground"). They say themselves that they are Râjputs who ran away after the great fight at Hastinapur, and that their name means "Quaker," from *thatardna*, "to tremble." Others say that the name simply means "residents of the Tarâi." Another suggestion is that it is derived from the Hindi *âthdru*, "an eighth-day serf," a man who is bound to give his lord one day's labour in the week. "But," as Mr. Nesfield says, "this implies what is not true. The Thârus are remarkable

¹ Largely based on Mr. J. C. Nesfield's valuable article in the *Culcutta Review* (XXX-I) and the *Gospel in Gonda* by Rev. S. Knowles, with notes from M. Chhedi Lal, Deputy Inspector, Schools, Gorakhpur; M. Mumtâz Ali Khân, Assistant Manager, Balrâmpur Estate, Gonda, and Bâbu Badari Nâth, Deputy Collector, Kheri.

² *Oudh Gazetteer*, II, 126; *North West Provinces Census Report*, 1867 · I, 61; *North-West Provinces Gazetteer*, VI, 358; *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1847, page 450; Carnegy, *Notes*, 8, Knowles, *loc cit.*, 213.

for their indolence, aversion to service, and incapacity for sustained field labour, and they have never been in the position of serf to any landlord. Had this been the case, they would have sunk long ago into the ranks of Arakhs, Pâsis, Chamârs, Koris, and other Hindu castes of the lowest rank, who serve as field labourers or bond-slaves to landlords in the open plain, and have lost the free life of the forest which Thârus still enjoy."

3. A more probable attempt has been made to connect it with some local root. Mr. Knowles says that it comes from a verb used by the hillmen, *thâna*, "to paddle about;" and hence Thâru means "a paddler." By another account *thâr* means "wine," and the name Thâru, or "wine bibber," was given them by one of the Kshatriya Râjas of the plains, who, when he invaded the hill country, was amazed at their drunken habits. "Another etymology," says Mr. Nesfield, "suggested is from *thâr*, which, in the colloquial language of the lowest classes, but not in the language of books, signifies, "forest;" and thus Thâru would mean "man of the forest," a name which correctly describes the status of the tribe. On the whole, however, it is safer not to search for any Hindi etymology, but to consider the name as sprung from the language of the tribe itself, which is now for the most part obsolete. An aboriginal name underived from any Sanskrit or neo-Sanskrit source is the fit appellative of an aboriginal, casteless and un-Brahmanized tribe whose customs have been only slightly modified by contact with those of the Aryan invader."

4. The origin of the Thârus has formed the subject of much controversy. One account is thus given by Traditions of origin. Dr. Buchanan:¹—"The Gurkhas seem to have been soon expelled from Magadha by a people called Thâru, who are said to have descended from the hills and extended themselves over every part north of the Ghâghra at least. Of this people very numerous monuments are shown, and from these they would appear to have been an industrious, powerful race, as the number of great buildings in brick which they have left is very considerable. The Thârus, in fact, pretend to be the proper descendants of the Sun, and their having expelled the Gurkhas from their usurped estates, and their having descended for that pur-

¹ *Eastern India*, II, 341, sq.

pose from the hills, are not incompatible with that pretension. Their claims to rank are, however, treated with the utmost contempt, because they are an abomination to the Brâhmans, and indulge in all the impurities of eating and drinking." He goes on to say that they retain in their features strong marks of a Chinese or Tartar origin, although it must be confessed that these marks are somewhat softened, and that the faces of the men especially do not differ so much from those of the Hindus as those of a pure Chinese do. Still, however, a difference is observable even in the men, and in the women and children is very closely marked.

5. The tradition in East Oudh is that after the fall of the Buddhist dynasty of Kanauj, the Thârus descended from the hills and occupied Ajudhya. They dispossessed the Buddhists, called in Râja Sri Chandra, of Srinagar, in the hills about Badari Nâth, who drove back the Thârus, and, marching north, founded Chandravatipur, now known as Sahet-Mahet, or, as Mr. Hoey would call it, Set-Met or Srâvasti. Lassen, in his account of the later dynasty of Kanauj, describes an inscription which records that Sri Chandra Deva, the first of the great Râthaur Princes who came to the throne in 1072 A.D., was protector of the sacred places of Ajudhya and Kosala or Srâvasti.¹

6. On the other hand they asserted to Mr. Knowles² that they were immigrants from the Dakkhin or the south country. In Bijnor they claim Chithor as their place of origin and refer to Jaymal and Patta. They say that they were driven out, apparently in the third siege of Chithor, by Akbar in 1567 A.D., and that they were originally Râjputs, who lost caste by using intoxicating liquor and rearing fowls. They never claim a Gurkha or hill origin. Interspersed with them are other tribes, generally called Thâru, but quite distinct, such as Gaharwâr, who also claim to be Râjputs. They never intermarry or eat with the Thârus, abstain from liquor, and never eat fowls. Others, again, as the Dangras, are looked down on as a lower caste by

¹ Mr. W. C. Bennett, *Indian Antiquary*, II, 18, quoting Lassen: *Alterthumsk.*, III, 751; Colebrooke, *Essays*, II, 286; *Asiatic Researches*, XV, 447, 457; *Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, X, 101.

² *Loc. cit.*, 209.

the Thârus.¹ Regarding the Chithor story, Mr. Nesfield says:—“Some Thârus know nothing about this tradition, and those who do are not able to tell you whether it was the sack by Alâuddîn (A.D. 1303), or that by Bahâdur Shâh (A.D. 1533), or that by Akbar (A.D. 1567). The story is absurd on the face of it; not the slightest allusion to Thârus in connection with any of these events is made by the Muhammadan historians. The fiction of having come from Rajputâna was invented by some of the clans merely to raise themselves in their own and their neighbour's estimation. There is scarcely a hunting tribe or caste in Upper India which has not set up a similar claim.”²

6. He quotes another legend which centres round Raksha or Rikheswar, their patron saint or founder. “Both names are evidently corruptions of some obsolete Thâru word which has been toned down to suit the Hindi accent. According to the legend in vogue among the Thârus of Kheri, this deified founder was a son of the renowned aboriginal King, Râja Ben or Vena, whose name is still rife in many of the oldest cities of Upper India and Bihâr, as one who held the rank and title of Chakravartti or universal Emperor in the olden time. In Manu's Institutes³ he is stigmatised as the first king who allowed a man to marry the wife of his deceased brother. According to Manu he died from the effects of his unbridled lusts. According to the Vishnu Purâna, he was beaten to death by a gang of saintly men armed with blades of holy grass, all of which had been consecrated with magic words. Benbans is still a title of several Dravidian tribes on the Vindhyan range. Rikheswar or Raksha was banished, it is said, from his father's court, and ordered, with his band of male followers, to seek for a new home in the north, from which they were never to return. Setting out on their wanderings, they took as their wives any women whom they could steal or capture on the road, and in this way the Thâru tribe was founded. It was not till they had reached the Sub-Himâlayan forest, in which they still dwell, that they decided to rest and settle. The soul of Raksha is still believed to hover among the people of his tribe, just as in ancient days he led them safely through the wide

¹ Mr. E. Colvin, *Census Report, North-West Provinces, 1865, I, Appendix 60, sqq.*

² *Loc. cit.*, 33.

³ IX, 60.

wilderness into a new and distant settlement; so in the present day he is said to be the guardian and guide of men travelling on a distant journey. No Thâru ever sets out from his village for such a purpose without first propitiating him with gifts and promising him a sumptuous feast of flesh, milk, and wine on his return. His presence is represented by a mound of mud, with a stone fixed in the middle, and he delights in seeing the blood of a live capon dashed against this stone and to feel its blood trickling down the side. One peculiarity of this god is that he is deaf, an emblem of his antiquity; and hence vows and prayer are addressed to him in a stentorian tone of voice. The title Gurua, which is generally prefixed to his name, implies that during his residence on earth he was famous as a wizard or medicine man, and acquired through this means the kingship or leadership of his tribe."

8. Dr. Oldham¹ believes that the Thârus are Indian aborigines and certainly very different from the Tartar Highland races. That the tribe has suffered much admixture is quite cer-

Ethnical affinities of
the Thârus.

tain. Mr. Nesfield² writes:—"Owing to the intermarriages which have taken place within the last two or three centuries between Thâru men and Nepâlese women the physiognomy of the Thâru tribe has acquired, in some instances, a slightly Mongolian cast, which shows itself chiefly, but not to a striking degree, in slanting eyes and high cheek bones. In other respects their physical characteristics are of the strictly Indian type. They have long, wavy hair, a dark, almost a black, complexion, and as much hair on the face and body as is usual with other natives of India. In stature, build, and gait they are distinctly Indian and not Mongolian; nor have they any traditions which connect their origin with Nepâl." One of Mr. Risley's³ correspondents remarks on the scantiness of their beards, but this peculiarity may be due to crossing with Nepâlese or Mech. Mr. Knowles⁴ says that some of the women are very fair, and are good looking both in face and figure; though they generally partake of the Mongolian style of features. They prove themselves genuine

¹ *Nepâl*, 151.

² *Loc. cit.*, 37.

³ *Tribes and Castes*, II, 313, note.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, 210.

daughters of Eye by their love of finery. They love to adorn themselves with heavy silver armlets, bracelets, anklets, nose-rings and necklaces of beads and many coloured shells. They wear their long black hair, not tied up in a knot, but rolled into a long horn behind. A more frequent application of water would make their bright yellow skins look more fair and healthy. Their toe and finger nails are nearly all destroyed from being so constantly soaked in water during the rice-sowing season."

9. The most probable explanation based on the available evidence seems to be that the Thârus are originally a Dravidian race who, by alliances with Nepâlese and other hill races, have acquired some degree of Mongolian physiognomy.

10. As might have been expected from the wandering habits of the Thârus and the varying influences to which they have been exposed, they tend to break up into a number of sub-tribes which are very intricate and not easily analysed. Those in Muhamdi of Kheri are said to be divided into three endogamous groups: Bâna, Batûr, and Malwariya; the last of whom take their name from Malwâra, a province of the Tarâi, lying east of Kanchanpur. In Gonda, according to Mr. Carnegy,¹ they have six endogamous groups: (a) Gurbans Katheriya, who are said to take their name from being of the race of Guru Rikheswar. They used to wear the Brâhmanical thread, but do not do so now. They drink spirits, eat flesh and fish, but not pork, and they employ washermen, barbers, and oil-pressers. They marry by the rites of *tilak* and *phaldân*; (b) Dingoriya or Dingariya, who rear pigs and poultry, shave themselves and wash their own clothes, using for this purpose the ashes of the *dsan* tree (*Terminalia alata tomentosa*). They remove dead cattle with their own hands, and are their own oil-pressers. They disregard all marriage ceremonies, and all that is necessary is for the friends to assemble, kill and eat a pig, and make the girl over to her husband. They will smoke, but will not eat with the Mânjhi Musahras; (c) Tharkomahra, who perform the same mean occupations and ceremonies as the Dingoriya, but in addition they make earthen vessels, and they smoke with none of the other sub-tribes; the name is a corruption of Thâru-

¹ Notes, 9, sqq.

Kumhâr; (d) the Mânjhi Musahra, who may be connected ethnically, as they are by function, with the Musahars of the Vindhyan plateau, who differ from the Dingariya in that they are fishermen and carry the litters of the Gurbans Katheriya, Dingariya, and Purabiya; (e) the Purabiya or "Eastern" drink spirits and eat flesh, cultivate land and employ washermen, barbers and also Chamârs, to remove dead cattle. They smoke with the Dingariya and marry like Gurbans Katheriya; (f) Dhaikar, who are mendicants and get fixed annual alms from the other five classes. They eat with the Dingariya, and worship a godling of their own, named Kharag.

11. According to Mr. Nesfield,¹ in Gorakhpur the Thârus divide themselves into two great sections: the Pachhami or "Western" and the Pûrabi or "Eastern;" but what or where the dividing line is to be found has not been stated. The "Western," it is said, call themselves Chhatris, and refuse to eat with the "Eastern." The "Eastern," again, divide themselves into the "Upper Eastern" (*Barka*) and the "Lower" (*Chhulka*). Among each of these again is a large number of smaller clans, some of the names of which are Dagwariya, Nawalpuriya, Marchaha, Kupaliha, Jogithâru, Kosithâru, Kawasiya, and Garhwariya.² A different account of the divisions and sub-divisions of the tribe is given in the Gonda district. There the tribe divides itself into two great sections: the Dingariya (who are the Dingoriya of Captain Thorburn) and the Kathariya, the first of which indulges in pork, and the second, according to their own statement, abstain from it. Other witnesses, however, deny that the Kathariya abstain from swine's flesh. As to the smaller sub-divisions into which both sections are sub-divided, there are such diversities of statement that it is impossible to get at the truth."

12. The Jugi Thârus, according to Mr. Knowles,³ supply the Kanphatas or ear-pierced priests for the temple sacrifice at Tulasipur, as they are adepts in striking off by a single blow the heads of the goats and buffaloes brought as an offering to Devi. The two-fold division into Dangariya and Kathariya is also given

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 39, sq.

² *North-Western Provinces Gazetteer*, VI, 358.

³ *Loc. cit.*, 116.

by Mr. Benett,¹ and is confirmed by a correspondent from the Gonda district, who does not, however, admit that the Dangariyas abstain from pork. The names of the sub-sections, according to another authority in the Gonda district, are Pûrabiya, Dangariya Kathariya, Amara, Tharjogi, Khuna, and Dingar. A correspondent from Kheri gives them as Gorhwaliya, Pachhihân or "Western," Malwariya, Dangariya, Suhaniya, and Râji, which last is usually regarded as a separate tribe. In Gorakhpur, besides the list already given, another enumeration as follows was furnished: Pachhâha (Barka, Chhutka), Kathariya, Dangariya, Khon, Khusiya, Marchaha, Kachla, Kanphata, Sarkohar, Nawalpuria. The Thârus of Kumaun gave another list which contains only five names: Thâr, Batta, Mahtam, Râwat, and Baiwâik; the last three of which seem to depend merely on status. The Thârus of Bhinga, on the edge of the Bahraich district, gave another list containing seven names: Dangariya, Kathariya, Khond, Dakhar, Râji, Musahar, Bot. In another part of the Bahraich district the names given were Kusmaha, Kathariya, Bantar, Dakhar, Dundwâr, Kachla, Rotai, and Jogi.

13. Another carefully prepared list comes from Balrâmpur in the Gonda district. It gives Dangwariya, Katheriya, Umra, Jogi, Dhaker, Pûrabiya, Batâr, Khushiya, Dhîmar, Unchdi, Kumhâr, Khûn, Rautâr, Detwâr, Kuchhila, Râjbatâr, Dhakwâl, Mandaha, Musahar, Dendwâr, Pradhân, Boksa. Of these it is said that the Dangwariya take their name from a place called Dang, which is somewhere in Nepâl; the Kathariya from a place called Kathâr in Deokhur. Of the Umra it is said that the name is a corruption of Dayamûr, "root of mercy," the title of the Kshatriya Chief who adopted the manners and customs of the Thârus and finally joined them. Of the Jogi Thârus the legend runs that a Sâdhu once kept a woman of the Thâru tribe as his mistress, and their descendants became known as Jogi Thâru. They still perform some of the rites of the Jogis. Thus, they bury their dead and erect over the grave a mound (*samâdh*). They eat and drink from the hands of the Dangwariya Thârus; but the Dangwariyas will not take food from their hands. This is rather like the relation of the Patâris and Mânjhis. Formerly it is said that they used to admit

¹ *Oudh Gazetteer*, III, 502.

to their clan a Dangwariya male who cohabited with one of their women or a Dangwariya woman who lived with one of their men. This custom has now ceased in British territory, but still prevails in the hills. The Dhaker are reported to be a branch of the Dangwariya. They are mendicants, who beg only from Thârus, and are endogamous. The Khûn are hardly found in British territory. They live by fishing and by attending sacred places, where they dive for and collect fragments of gold and coral which are thrown into the sacred stream with the ashes of the Hindu dead. The Pradhân are found in the direction of Hardwâr and are the same as the Mahton or Mahtam of the other lists. The Census returns show 73 sections of the tribe. Some of these are taken from Râjput septs or the names of other tribes, such as Bhagat, Gadariya, Jogi, Kathariya, Raghubansi, Râwat, and Râna; others are territorial, as Bijnauriya ("those of Bijnaur"), Jaunpui, Kâshigaubân, Motipurha, Nawalpurha; most of them are, however, purely local titles, which must await wider knowledge of the geography of the Tarâi and its neighbourhood and the local patois of the tribe before their meaning can be ascertained.

14. The truth seems to be that the tribal organization of the Thârus is not well established and is constantly changing under the influence of the local surroundings, and that the landmarks between the Thârus and allied tribes, such as the Bhoksas and Râjis, are very uncertain. The extensive lists given by Mr. Risley from Bihâr contain some of the names which have been already enumerated, but it is fruitless to attempt to work out the analogies in detail.

15. Of the marriage customs of the Thârus, Mr. Nesfield writes:—"Until the nuptial ceremony has been completed, and the woman has become the recognised property of some individual man, she is regarded as the common property of the clan, and is treated accordingly; till then there is no restriction of intercourse. Even when the marriage knot has been tied, it is not very difficult to get it unloosed; for the contract is not binding for life, or invested with anything like a sacred character, as it is with the Hindus, and men can and do change their wives in a spirit of mutual accommodation.¹ It

¹ *Oudh Gazeiteer*, III, 503; and see Letourneau, *Evolution of Marriage*, 52.

should be added, however, that so long as the contract between the man and woman lasts, the latter is as chaste and faithful as any wife could be." At the same time it should be stated that some of the Thârus repudiate the idea that pre-nuptial license or anything in the form of communal marriage is tolerated.

16. The usual age for marriage on the woman's part is about seventeen or eighteen, and a man usually makes his first marriage at about that age. The Bengal Thârus practise both infant and adult marriage and one sub-division of them are said to tolerate sexual intercourse before marriage.¹ There is no betrothal in infancy, except among some clans which have come more completely under the influence of Hinduism. According to Mr. Nesfield, "the marriage contract is arranged, not by the parties themselves, but by the fathers on either side; and the pair for whom the negotiation is made have no power either to choose or refuse. The father of the youth goes over to the village or clan in which the father of the young woman resides, and after making his proposals for the price to be paid for her, offers him a drink of wine, and if the present is accepted, the bargain is closed. The contract once made is faithfully kept by both parties. The price paid for the woman may be in cash or kind, and its value depends on the means of the purchaser or the attractiveness of the woman." In Bihâr² the bride-price is supposed to be nine rupees, but is liable to vary according to the means of the family. "The choice of the bride is limited by the rule of exogamy; in other words she must not be a blood relation to the husband chosen for her, nor of the same village, but of some outside village or clan. Wife capture is secretly practised to some extent among the Thârus. They have been known to carry off girls by stealth from the Bhuksa tribe conterminous with their own borders on the Sârda river, and from the Nepâlese tribes living on the outer spurs of the Himâlaya mountains; and this practice of getting wives from Nepâl will explain the slightly Mongolian cast of face which has now become rather common, though not universal, among the Thâru tribe. But though the fact of wife capture has become almost obsolete, the form is still preserved in the manner in which the bride is conducted to her new home. The father of the bridegroom never goes to take her away from her own clan or village

¹ Eisle, *loc. cit.*, II, 314.

² *Ibid.*, II, 314.

unless he is accompanied by a select bodyguard of fellow tribesmen. They enter the bride's house in the evening, eat and drink all they can get there in the way of pig, goat, wine, rice, and *ghī*; and then carry her off on the following morning led by a band of men dancers, men singers, and men musicians, while the bride herself screams and cries as if she were being led off by violence. All this implies a demonstration of force, though no such thing as force is really anticipated or intended."

17. It is needless to say that much the same fiction of capture is found in the marriage usages of other tribes as well as the Thārus. Thus, writing of the Eastern Districts of the Panjāb joining on to these Provinces, Mr. Ibbetson¹ says:—"The strict rule of tribal exogamy which still binds all classes, both Hindu and Musalmān, excepting, however, the priests and traders, who observe only the prohibitions of the Sanskrit scriptures, especially the rule against marrying from neighbouring village, the formal nature of the wedding procession, which must be as far as possible mounted on horses, and in which males only may take part, the preparatory oiling of the bridegroom, the similar treatment of the bride being, perhaps, a later institution,—all point to marriage by capture. So does the use of the bloody hand at both villages. The marking all the turnings from the village gate to the bride's house may be a survival of a very common intermediate stage, where the bridegroom visits the bride by stealth. The rule that the procession must reach the girl's village after mid-day, must not enter the village, but remain outside in a place allotted to them, the fight between the girl's and boy's parties at the door of the bride's house, the rule that the girl shall wear nothing belonging to herself, the hiding of the girl from the boy's people at the wedding ceremony,—all point to marriage by capture. So does the rule by which the boy's party must not accept food at the hands of the girl's people after the wedding, and must pay for what they eat on the succeeding night, and the fiction by which the girl's father is compelled to ignore all payment of money by the bridegroom's friends. The bloody hand stamped on the shoulder of the boy's father by the girl's mother as he departs, and the custom which directs the girl to go off bewailing some one of her male relatives,

¹ *Panjāb Ethnography*, 184; and see McLennan, *Studies*, 88, *sqq.*; *Primitive Marriage*, 27, *sqq.*

who has lately died, saying 'Oh! my father is dead! 'Oh! my brother is dead' are very marked; as is the fight with sticks between the bride and bridegroom. Finally we have the rule that after the ceremonial goings and comings are over, the wife must never visit her father's house without his special leave, and the fact that the village into which his daughter is married is utterly tabooed for her father, her elder brother, and all her near elder relatives. They may not go into it, or even drink water from a well in that village, for it is shameful to take anything from one's daughter or her belongings. Even her more distant elder relations will not eat or drink from the house into which the girl is married, though they do not taboo the whole village. The boy's father can go to the girl's village by leave of her father, but not without. Similarly, all words denoting male relations by marriage are commonly used as terms of abuse, as, for instance, *susra*, *sâla*, *bahnoi*, *jamâi*, or father-in-law, wife's brother, sister's husband, and daughter's husband. Of these the first two are considered so offensive that they are seldom used in their ordinary sense." It is necessary to say that many of the conclusions of Mr. Ibbetson, as thus given, have been disputed.¹

18. Among the Thârus, to complete the analogy to the old custom of wife capture, there is no celebration of nuptial ceremonies after the bride and bridegroom have come to their journey's end. As soon as they enter the house appointed for them, *ipso facto*, man and wife. Mr. Risley² remarks that slight traces of the form of capture may perhaps be discerned in the ritual, but these are not very marked among the Thârus of Bihâr. "Brâhmins officiate as priests, and the brother-in-law of the bride usually takes a prominent part in the proceedings. In the Mardaniya and Chitwaniya sub-tribes the bridegroom's party, instead of being entertained by the bride's people, are expected to feast the latter for three days before the bride is produced. No second ceremony (*gauna*) is performed when the bride goes finally to live with her husband. When she is married as an adult, she goes to her husband at once, and in all cases it is deemed proper for her to spend one night at her husband's house immediately after marriage. On the occasion of this visit she and the relations who accompany her

¹ *Panjab Census Report*, I, 336.

² *Loc. cit.*, II, 314, sq.

are entertained at a feast called *dulhi bhatdwan*, 'giving rice to the bride,' which celebrates her formal admission into the sept to which her husband belongs. If she is still an infant, she is taken back next day to her parents' house by her brother-in-law, and remains there until she has attained sexual maturity."

19. Among the Dangariyas of Gonda it is forbidden to introduce women of low castes, such as the Kori, Chamâr, or Musalmân; but if one of the sept can induce a woman of a caste higher than his own to live with him, the union is recognised, and children born of the pair are regarded as legitimate and enjoy full tribal rights.

20. In Gorakhpur the betrothal is arranged by neighbours and friends on both sides, and the pledge of the engagement is the sending of twelve cups (*tarahi*) of spirits by the father of the bridegroom to the house of the bride. When this is accepted the engagement is complete. There are three forms of marriage ceremony in vogue: the *Pachhiwâdhân* or "Western," the *Purbiha* or "Eastern" and the *Bhoj* or "Banquet." The most respectable form, in which the rites are done at the house of the bride, whose father provides a suitable dowry, is known as *Pachhiwâdhân*. In the *Purbiha* form no dowry is given. The *Bhoj* is the least respectable of all, and is only done by the very lowest members of the tribe. The binding portion of all three forms is the *sendû bandhan*, when the youth applies vermilion (*sendûr*) to the parting (*mâng*) of the girl's hair.

21. Thâru marriages are usually done in the early spring; but this is not essential, and they have not reached the stage when the rite cannot be done except on a lucky day selected by a Brâhman astrologer. Polygamy, divorce in the form of the expulsion from the house of the faithless wife with the approval of the council, widow marriage, and the levirate under the usual restrictions are all allowed. Divorced women can marry again like widows, and both classes are distinguished by the title *urari*, or "selected," from women who were married as virgins by the full ritual. The social status of a married widow or divorcee is, however, inferior to that of a regularly married wife; but for the purposes of succession both rank alike.

22. Of the Thâru birth rites Mr. Nesfield¹ writes:—"After the birth of a child the mother is not allowed to taste food or water for two days. On the

Birth rites.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 16.

third day she is allowed to drink as much wine as she desires, and some is rubbed over her body. Thâru women assist each other at the time of childbirth. They are said to be very skilful in midwifery, and Chamâr women are not employed for such purposes as among Hindus. They have a form of lustral ceremony or baptism for the benefit of new-born babes. On the day of its birth the child is immersed in water, while the oldest man in the family pronounces over it certain auspicious words. After the immersion ceremony is over, the child is fumigated with fire and smoke; a tuft of dry *kâns* or *kusa* grass is dug out by the roots. After placing the head of a snake and the sting of a scorpion inside the tuft, they set it on fire, holding the flame as near as possible to the place where the child is lying. The ingredients taken from the snake and scorpion are intended to render the child proof for the remainder of his life against the attack of secret enemies of all kinds. An iron tool is kept in the room where the child sleeps to avert the Evil Eye. When the child is four or five months old, a name is selected for it, and this is bestowed before an assembly of friends by the oldest man in the household."

23. Among the more Hinduised Thârus of Gonda, a Chamârin is sometimes called in at births, and after six days her place is taken by the wife of the barber. All Thârus, except the Kathariyas, starve the mother after delivery, and she is not fed without a preparatory offering of *laddu* sweetmeats to Bhâgawati. On the twelfth day the birth pollution is removed by a bath. There is no trace of the couvade.

24. Among the Thârus if a man is childless, he adopts one of his nephews, in preference the son of his elder brother. He assembles the clansman and taking the boy in his lap, he puts his cap on his head, which signifies that he is his son. Among the Dangwariya sept in Gonda, when a man marries a widow he very often adopts her son by her first marriage, and the son thus adopted receives a larger share of the inheritance than the issue of the marriage with his mother.

25. Earth burial seems to have been the usual way in which the Thârus formerly disposed of their dead; but cremation is now taking its place, except in the case of those who die of cholera or small-pox; these are always interred.

"After cremation the ashes are scattered in the nearest river. Before, however, the corpse has been disposed of by either rite, it is usual to paint it with vermilion and expose it for one night on a mound outside the house. From this mound, as from a stronghold, the spirit of the dead is supposed to scare away wild animals from the crops.¹ Whether the body is buried or burnt, the ceremony is always performed on the southern side of the village, a notion probably borrowed from the Hindus, who consider that the north is the region commonly frequented by divine spirits, and the south by human souls.² The man who puts the first fire to the funeral pyre is considered to be unclean from having brought himself within dangerous reach of the contagion of death. He is therefore, kept at a distance for ten days after cremation, and compelled to live entirely alone. On the expiry of the tenth (or the thirteenth as some Thârus relate) the friends of the deceased meet at the house where he died, and after undergoing the ceremony of shaving, they hold a feast of the dead. The banquet prepared for this purpose consists of cooked flesh and wine, the scent and smoke of which are intended to refresh the departed soul; the solid parts, that is, the flesh and wine, themselves are consumed by the living." Mr. Nesfield³ suggests that the funeral feast consumed by the relations developed into the feeding of Brâhmans, because while offerings to the dead should be made through fire, Manu⁴ taught that "there is no difference between fire and a Brâhman," and that an oblation of food to such a holy man is "an offering in the fire of a sacerdotal mouth."

26. "In certain rare cases the burial rite is performed in a manner distinct from either of those already described. A man noted above his fellows for wisdom in counsel, bravery in the chase, or knowledge of the magical or medicinal arts, is buried under the floor of the house in which he was living before his spirit departed. The house thenceforth becomes a temple, and ceases to be used as a dwelling-place for man.⁵ The soul of the dead becomes its

¹ With this compare Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, I, 257, *sqq.*; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, 150.

² Manu, *Institutes*, III, 206; for the situation of Yamapura or Yamasodana, see Monier-Williams, *Brâhmanism and Hinduism*, 290.

³ Spencer, *loc. cit.*, I, 155, *sqq.*; Tylor, *loc. cit.*, II, 30.

⁴ *Institutes*, III, 212, 91 : 168.

⁵ Spencer, *loc. cit.*, I, 251.

occupant, and it lives there to bless those whom it has left behind. At periods of three or six months after the death, the friends and neighbours of the deceased assemble round his grave or temple and make an effigy in clay, parts of which are painted in various colours, intended to reproduce the appearance of resuscitated life. His worshippers fall down weeping and wailing before the image, and place offerings of cooked flesh and wine at its feet. Presently, at a given signal, as soon as the soul of the dead is believed to have been propitiated by the scent of roast meat and the fumes of wine, they commence to dance and sing with every expression of joy; and the proceedings of the day are closed with consuming the solid parts of the offering."

27. According to another account from Gonda, the dead are cremated, except those who have died without heirs, and these are buried. The Jogi Thârus, as already stated, raise a mound (*samâdh*) over the graves of their dead. When a corpse is cremated, they bury the ashes on the spot or throw them into a neighbouring stream. Only a few, who are more completely Hinduised, carry the bones to the Ganges. When a person dies of pestilence, the body is buried for the time, and, when the plague is over, disinterred and cremated. They shave the hair of the corpse, cut the nails, bathe it, and rub it with *ubtan*, consisting of ground mustard mixed with turmeric and water. It is then carried on a cot to the cremation ground. The mourners take with them some pulse, rice, ghi, and some earthen vessels. Before the corpse is burnt, they make two fire-places on which they place two vessels, in which each of the mourners, by turn, cooks some rice and pulse. Then the corpse is placed upon the pyre, and the chief mourner walks seven times round it and sets fire to it. On their return to the house of the deceased, his widow and children wash some copper pice in water and sprinkle it over the party of mourners. The relatives supply some spirits and the friends *sharbat*, which are mixed together and drunk by all present. The man who burns the pyre secludes himself ten days in the case of a dead man and nine days for a woman. The Kathariya and Dangwariya sects keep a lamp burning in the house for ten days after the death to give light to the ghost when it comes to visit its home. On the tenth day they feast their clansmen, and on the thirteenth Brâhmins. The other Thârus perform the rites in the ordinary Hindu way.

28. The religion of the more primitive branches of the Thârus

Religion. is based on a belief in ghosts and consists of little else ; the Thârus of the plains are be-

coming rapidly Hinduised. The soul is believed to survive the body, wandering forth into space and frequenting the haunts of the living sometimes with malignant, sometimes with friendly, intentions. " One Thâru, on being questioned what became of the soul after death, gave an answer, which verifies, with remarkable closeness, the explanation of the ghost theory given by Dr. Tylor. He said that at the time of sleep his soul or second self leaves him and wanders about at will ; and as he was not able to say where his soul goes to or what it does during the intervals of sleep, so he could not pretend to say what became of it after the final sleep of death had set in.¹ "

29. Mr. Knowles, whose knowledge of the beliefs of the Thârus is unique, writes ²—" It was to be expected that this people would be very superstitious. The *bhûts* or demons lurking in the forest trees, especially the weird *semal* or cotton tree (*bombax heptaphylla*) and the *prets* or spirits of the dead lead there a very miserable life. When the last ray of light leaves the forest, and the darkness settles down upon their villages, all the Thâru men and women and children huddle together inside their fast-closed huts in mortal dread of these ghostly beings, more savage and cruel than the leopards, tigers, and bears that now prowl about for their prey. Only the terrible cry of " Fire " will bring these poor fear-stricken creatures to open their doors and remove the heavy barriers from their huts at night ; and even in the day time, amid the hum of human life, the songs of the birds, and the lowing of the cattle no Thâru—man, woman or child—will ever venture along a forest line without casting a leaf, a branch, or a piece of old rag upon the Bansati formed at the entrance of the deep woods, to save themselves from the many diseases and accidents the goblins and malicious spirits of the forests can bring upon and cause them. The Bansati or ' good spirit ' of the woods is a square space cut in the ground six feet by six covered with pine branches. "

30. The Thâru patron saint Raksha or Rikheswar has been already mentioned. Mr. Risley ³ thinks that he is identical with the

¹ Nesfield, *loc. cit.*, 18, sq. ; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, 436, sqq.

² *Loc. cit.*, 214.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 315.

Rikhmun of the Musahar Bhuiyas. Malignant spirits "cause fever, ague, cough, dysentery, fainting, headache, madness, bad dreams, and pains of all sorts. In fact the Thârus have no conception of natural disease, and no belief in natural death, except what is faintly conceived to be the result of physical decay. Their state, therefore, would be one of utter helplessness, were it not for the reputed skill of medium men or sorcerors, who profess to have the power to control the spirits of the air, or to interpret their grievances or wants. In the Thâru language these men are called Bararar; but the titles of Guru, Gurua, Bhagat, Nyotya, Ojhait, all of which are borrowed from the Hindi, are now in common use, though even of these the last two are probably of aboriginal or non-Sanskritic origin. The power of the medicine man is tremendous. He has a host of liege spirits at his command. Not only can he expel a fiend from the body of a sufferer, but he can produce suffering or death by driving a malignant spirit into the body of his foe. In order to exorcise an evil spirit, he holds in his left hand some ashes of cowdung, or grains of mustard seed, or wild nuts, and after breathing some mystical virtue into them by the utterance of a spell, he causes the patient to eat them, or has them attached to his arm. One of the spells uttered at such times is as follows. It is addressed to Kâlîka, the Thâru goddess of death and patroness of the magical arts:—

Gurhai Gur sair, Gur tantra mantra, Gur ;

Lakhai niranjan ; toka sohai phulka bhâr ;

Hamka sohai gun vidya kai bhâr ;

Yahân kai vidya nahîn,

Kâmru Kâm kai vidya ;

Jaisê vidya Kâmru Kâm kai lágai, waisê vidya lágai mor.

The language is that of bad and scarcely intelligible Hindi and may be rendered thus:—

"The Guru Kâlîka is great; she is everything; she is magic by deeds (*tantra*); she is magic by words (*mantra*). She points out the way to relief. Thou, O Kâlîka, deservest to be heaped with flowers! I too deserve to be heaped with secret wisdom, the wisdom of Kâmru Kâm, not the wisdom of the country. Whatever effect the knowledge of Kâmru Kâm produces, such effects let my knowledge produce also."

31. Mr. Knowles¹ says:— "Their religion is as simple as them-

¹ Loc. cit., 212.

selves. A very primitive piece of wood in the shape of a Mahâdeva stone, near which is erected a long stick, with a bit of red cloth fastened to the top, is all they have as an object of worship ; and I found a very few in a village pay any attention even to this. They have some idea of a Supreme Being they call Nârâyan, who gives them sunshine and rain and harvests ; but they have no proper idea how this great, far-off Being is to be approached and worshipped. I found about five Thârus, who had taken to themselves the luxury of a Brâhman Gura from Balrâmpur, and who carried on *pûja* in the usual Hindu orthodox way."

32. "The goddess who presides over life and death, and whom the Thârus believe to be the supreme power in the universe, is Kâlîka, one of the numerous forms of Devi, Durga or Kâli, at whose name all India trembles, especially the low tribes and the casteless tribes, among whom she originally sprung. One of her titles in Oudh is Sonmat or Sonwat, "the crescent headed ;" Chândika Devi is the goddess of the Bhars, and her name means the same. Mari, the patron goddess of Kanjars, is also worshipped by them. She appears to be identical with Samai or Samaiya, who, according to Dr. Buchanan,¹ is a Thâru deity. Medicine men look to Kâlîka as the special patroness of their art. To the fair sex she is the goddess of parturition, and her aid is specially invoked by women who have had no children. All classes combine to give her a periodical ovation, accompanied by much dancing, banqueting, and drinking of wine, about the middle of October. Thârus also take part in the huge animal sacrifice performed at the celebrated altar in Devi Pâtan, in the Gonda district. Such is her thirst for blood that at this time twenty buffaloes, two hundred and fifty goats, and two hundred and fifty pigs are slaughtered daily, for ten days continuously. The sacrifice is vicarious, the blood of the buffaloes, etc., being intended as a substitute for that of human victims. This loathsome festival is thronged with visitors from the plains of India and from the hills of Nepâl, Sikkhim and Bhutân."²

33. "Another deity revered by Thârus, and like Kâlîka of indigenous or non-Aryan origin, is her consort Siva, known chiefly among Thârus by the name of Bhairava, 'The Terrible,' Thâkur, 'The Lord,' and amongst Hindus by that of Mahâdeva, 'The

¹ *Eastern India*, II, 389.

² Nesfield, *loc. cit.*, 27.

Great God.' He, like his spouse, is a god of destruction and thirst for blood. But he is chiefly worshipped by the Thârus as the author of reproduction, of which a stone lingam, as among Hindus, is made the symbol. It is more usual, however, for a Thâru to erect a mud mound in front of his house, and fix an upright pole in the centre, to represent the presence of this phallic divinity. Nature worship among Thârus is represented by two deities of some importance. One is Madhu the god of intoxicating liquor, specially of the rice wine made by themselves. He represents the goddess Varunani, Varuni, Mada or Sura of Vaishnavism.¹ The other is Dharchandi, 'the patroness of cattle,' though her name would imply that she was at first intended to personate the Earth. Her shrine, like those of the deities already named, is a mound of clay. The mound dedicated to Dharchandi is studded with short wooden crosses, on which rice, pulse, and other produce of the fields are offered, and always on plates of leaf. Her shrine is so placed that all the cattle of the village, together with the swine, sheep, and goats, pass it on going out to graze, and repass it on their return. When the cattle sicken or die, larger and more valuable offerings are made. Neither of these deities is known or worshipped by other natives of Upper India." In Champâran, Kuân is worshipped as a village deity by casting sweetmeats down a well (*kuân*) and smearing vermilion on its rim.²

34. In Gonda, besides the worship of Mahâdeva and Bhâgawati, the Jogi Thârus worship a deified worthy known as Ratinâth. They have also minor village deities, known as Garar Bîr, Kâli, and Deohâr, or the collective village pantheon. Bhâgawati is worshipped on the tenth of Kuâr with a sacrifice of a pig or a fowl and with an offering of milk and wine. At the same time the brethren are fed on sweetmeat. If there are several Thâru families in a village, they will each feed the brethren on successive days. Those who are poor feed only one member of each family of the brethren. Mahâdeva is worshipped daily with an offering of sandal, washed rice (*acâhat*), flowers, incense, a lighted lamp, and water. The worship of Garar Bîr and Kâli is done in the months of Jeth, Bhâdon, and Aghan. In the months of Jeth and Bhâdon the offering consists of a pig, goat, ram, fowl, wine, and milk. In Aghan they

¹ Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, 106.

² Risley, *loc. cit.*, II, 316.

offer the *maguri* fish (*macropteronotus magur*), fowls, eggs, rats, wine, and milk. The above is the rule among the Dangwariya Thārus. The Kathariya offer a ram in Asārḥ, and in Aghan a mixture of new rice, *ghi*, and sugar. The offerings are consumed by the worshippers. The worship of these deities is often carried on by a general subscription among all the Thāru residents of the village.

35. In Gorakhpur their chief objects of worship are Mahādeva and Bhawāni. They have also a crowd of minor godlings, such as Sāwan, Lutta, Mangan, the Jāk and Jākni, who are field godlings; Brahm, a deified Brāhman ghost; Mari, the goddess of death, and Bāgheswari, the tiger goddess. Of the origin and attributes of these godlings they are quite ignorant. Sāwan, Lutta, and Mangan receive a sacrifice of a cock at the Naurātri; Bāgheswari is worshipped through a Gurua or Ojha with an offering of rice-milk. After sowing the autumn crops, Jāk and Jākni receive an offering of some oilcake and a chicken. At the same time a cock is offered to Mari. Brahm is worshipped at any time of sickness or other trouble with an oblation of milk.

36. Thārus hold three animals sacred above all others, and these they would deem it a sacrilege to destroy—the cow, the serpent, and the monkey,—of which the cow and monkey are probably adored through the example of their Hindu neighbours. The snake has a special service at the Nāgpanchami. The only tree to which they appear to show any particular respect is the *pīpal*.

37. In the spring Thārus observe the annual festival of fire, an observance “resembling, in many respects, the Holi of the Hindus, and known to Thārus themselves by this and no other name. A mound of earth is prepared, in the centre of which a pole is fixed in a vertical position, the phallic emblem of reproductive energy. Offerings of turmeric, hemp, *dhatūra*, and other pungent or odorous herbs are placed upon the pole and mound by the assembled people. Straw and stubble and sticks are then piled around the pole; and the oldest or most respected man in the assembly puts fire to it. After the bonfire has burnt itself out, they amuse themselves with dancing, playing the drum and cymbals, pelting each other with coloured powder, singing amorous songs, and cracking lascivious jokes. The evening is spent in feasting on roast meats and rice and drinking wine. The only difference between this and the Hindu form of the Holi is

Animal and plant worship.

Festivals.

that the same gods and demi-gods are not honoured in the one as in the other, and that the Thârus have retained the old phallic emblem, which among Hindus has gone entirely out of use.”¹ As has been shown elsewhere,² this probably represents a more primitive form of the usage than that at present prevailing among Hindus. We have met a similar usage among the Dravidian tribes of Mirzapur, who burn the old year (*sambat jalâna*) in the form of a stake. In Gorakhpur, where the Thârus have come more completely under Brâhmanical influence, they observe all the ordinary Hindu festivals.

38. Mr. Nesfield³ has given an elaborate account of the social life of the Thârus. They live by hunting and fishing, gathering forest fruits and vegetables, grazing cows and buffaloes, making *ghî*, keeping pigs, fowls, and goats, and practising a rude form of agriculture. “As hunters they despise and shun such vermin as jackals, snakes, and lizards. The animals which they chiefly hunt are the wild boar, the deer, the antelope, and other large game in which their forests still abound. They also lay snares for the porcupine (*sahî*) and eat its flesh, which is considered to bear some resemblance to that of the pig. Sometimes, but only when they are pressed for food, they will eat field rats. They are fond of hares when they can catch them, and they are not averse to the flesh of the river tortoise. When the stock of meat happens to become larger than they can consume at once, their mode of preserving it is by cutting it into strips and drying it in the sun.”

39. Mr. Knowles⁴ remarks that though the men and boys go about almost in a nude state, with only a piece of cloth hung loose in front, held by a string fastened round the waist, yet the wives and daughters of the tribe are so well clothed that only the arms and feet are left exposed.

40. In Gonda they eat pork, and the flesh of deer and those cloven-footed animals which ordinary Hindus eat, fowls, fish, both scaled and scaleless, tortoises, rats and hares. They will not eat beef, or the flesh of the monkey, crocodile, snake, lizard, jackal, and

¹ Nesfield, *loc. cit.*, 80.

² *Introduction to Popular Religion and Folklore*, 391, sq.

³ *Loc. cit.*, 3, sqq.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, 210.

other vermin. This is also the case in Gorakhpur ; but here there seems to be an increasing tendency towards the restrictions in force among Rājputs, of whom they claim to form a branch. In Gonda all Thārus will smoke together. The Kusumha, Dahel, Lampoohna and Parpariya or Palpharaha septs eat *kachchi* and drink together. These will not eat with Kumbhār Jogi and Dhaker. But the latter will eat from the Kusumha. The Dangwariya and Katheriya will eat *pakki* together. The Brāhmins and Kshatriyas of the hills will not touch food from any Thāru ; but they will drink water drawn by members of the Dangwariya sept. The Brāhmins of the plains will drink water drawn by the Katheriyas. Their chief fishing implements are the hook and line, the net and the funnel-shaped basket. They often poison the water and catch fish in this way. Their favourite root is a plant of the yam species, which grows freely at the foot of the hills. Wild rice, the flower of the *mahua* tree (*bassia latifolia*) and the fruit of the wild fig tree are gathered in their several seasons. Until recently they used to cultivate in a rude way by cutting and burning down the jungle, but now they cultivate the transplanted rice throughout the Tarāi, and they have a valuable source of food in the plantain which grows plentifully around their villages. Mr. Knowles¹ writes that "the rice which is not carefully taken out of the husk and is therefore all broken, is their principal food. They eat three times a day. At what answers to our breakfast they eat a meal of boiled rice; at what we call our tiffin they make a meal of boiled rice-water, and at our dinner time they make a more substantial meal of pulse and rice and the meat of any game they may have shot or caught in the jungle. But they never eat bread of any kind. Little wheat is grown and that for market. The first meal is called *kalwa* or *kalewa* (Sanskrit *kalya-varta*) ; the second *mingi* and the third *beri*." The women do the largest part of the sowing, weeding and harvesting, while the men engage in hunting, fishing, etc., which they regard as the proper occupation of their sex. "The only kind of labour which a Thāru will undertake, is that of elephant-driver to some Rāja. Their skill as elephant-drivers is admitted everywhere; and latterly they have acquired the art of catching wild elephants from the forest and taming them for the Rāja of Balrāmpur and other noblemen."

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 211.

41. Their villages, according to Mr. Knowles,¹ are from one to two miles distant from each other, and the houses are all made of wood or grass. The outside grass walls of each house are plastered over with red mud. They never use cowdung for this and other household purposes as is usual with the people outside the jungle; that they use only for manure. The cattle sheds are protected from beasts of prey by strong wooden palings. The wells in the village are kept from falling in by boards being let down and fastened together. The houses are large, cool and commodious, and generally raised on poles, like those of the Dyaks described by Mr. Wallace,² in order to protect the inmates from damp and malaria. They contain large jars of red clay in which food grain and seed rice are kept. Dr. Buchanan³ remarks that "the huts of the Thârus have straight ridges, and in general are much wider and longer than those of other natives. But one hut usually serves as the residence of a family, which in the southern parts of the District would have three or four huts round a yard. On one side of the hut is usually a garden, neatly fenced and containing tobacco, mustard and a few plantain trees. The Thârus keep cows, buffaloes, sheep, goats, fowls, and pigeons, and this live-stock occupies an open end of their hut separated from the dwelling apartments by a hurdle wall."

42. "Every little village," writes Mr. Nesfield⁴ "is a self-governing community. Disputes are decided by a council of elders, and this is sometimes presided over by a headman who, in the Thâru language, was formerly called Barwâik, but who is now dubbed even by themselves with the ordinary Hindu title of Chaudhari. The office of headman is not hereditary. The man selected is one whose age, experience and knowledge of the magical and medicinal arts entitle him to more respect than the rest; and he acquires the status of headman by tacit consent and not by formal election. The decisions of the council or the headman are obeyed unreservedly; and there is no such thing known as a Thâru taking a fellow tribesman before a tribunal outside his own community. Litigation between Thârus and Hindus is equally unknown. Amongst themselves the Thârus are, for the most part, a peaceful and good natured race,

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 211.

² *Malay archipelago*, 59.

³ *Eastern India*, II, 40.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, 6, sq.

following without question, as if by a law of nature, the customs and maxims of their ancestors."

43. Their strongest form of oath is placing the hand on the lingam of Mahâdeva or on the shrine of Kâlîka. "A less potent oath, and one evidently derived from the Hindus, is by holding water in the palm of the hand, the water being supposed to have come from the Ganges. When two persons accuse each other of some fault, and it is known that one or other must be guilty, resort is had to the floating test. The two disputants are flung simultaneously into deep water, and the one who rises first is declared guilty. Another kind of ordeal practised by them consists of throwing a coin into a bowl of boiling oil or boiling water, and thrusting in the arm to take it out. If the arm comes out unblistered the person is declared innocent."

44. "The tools and weapons used by the Thârus are not made by themselves. The share of the plough, the point of the spear, the blade of the axe or hatchet, and the blade of the hoe with which they dig the yam are procured from Lohârs. The recollection of stone weapons survives even in tradition. The curved knife (*khukhuri*) is procured from Nepâl. Their plough is of the same design as that used by Hindus, but more simple, for the upright pole (*jangha*), to which the oxen are attached is in the same piece of wood with the curved part to which the iron share is fastened." They work in bamboo, reeds, and fibres, and make baskets, snares, nets, and similar appliances for hunting and fishing. A peculiar article of dress is the broad leaf umbrella worn over the head to keep off the sun and rain.

45. They have a national dance performed by boys or men, never by girls or women. "A boy of fifteen or sixteen is dressed as a woman, and his partner beats a small drum suspended from the neck. The pair advance and retreat with a gliding motion, and represent with coarse fidelity the advances of the lover and the coyness of the maid. As they proceed they warm to the work; and I shall never forget the ecstatic but somewhat ludicrous rapture which shone in the face and spake in every limb of the drummer after two hours of the exercise and the infusion of a large amount of raw spirits. Every now and then the dancing gives place to a dramatic interlude, in which a dullard is made the butt of the rough and occasionally

obscene wit of the leading actor. These scenes were invariably the vehicle of satire, and the Brâhmans of the plains and Sir Jang Bahâdur of Nepâl were visited with unsparing ridicule.”

46. They make their principal intoxicating drinks from rice. This rice liquor is drunk more or less every day, and every member of the family—from the oldest to the youngest—drinks it. “They say by only thus drinking they can be kept alive in these forests, especially in the rains. The water in the village wells is certainly not fit to drink without some disinfecting process, and the Thârus themselves say that drinking it would kill a *desi* or person living outside the forest in a week. Of course they drink to excess on special occasions. Every now and then they have a big *nâch* or dance of a very degrading kind. In it they act a regular play in which there is a plot and a grand finale. A Nepâl prince who carries off a beautiful Thâru girl figures in it. The women take part in it, and I am told the curtain had better fall over the last act.”

47. Like all secluded races the Thârus are notorious for witchcraft and in the plains, Thâruhat or “the Thâru country” is a synonym for witch land. “Every Thâru woman,” says Mr. Knowles,¹ “after the marriageable age, is supposed by those who live outside the Thâru country to possess the *tona* or power of the Evil Eye to bewitch and enchant; so that she has the power to turn a *desi* or stranger into a wild animal or destroy him slowly by consumptive fever. This, I find, is one reason why all the natives outside the forest dread the Thârus and fear to live among them. The forest officer has had the greatest difficulty in getting carpenters and masons to come out and build his house, because they were afraid of Thâru *tona*. The power of the Evil Eye displays itself in two forms: the major curse being known as *lohua*, which commences with violent wasting away, and results invariably in a rapid death. For the lesser (*ôcj*), recovery may be expected; it displays itself in a low fever accompanied with diarrhoea. The fever and dysentery of the Tarâi keep the superstition alive. Both men and animals are sup-

¹ *Oudh Gazetteer*, III, 504.

² Knowles, *loc. cit.*, 212. It has been generally believed that the Thârus are proof against malaria; but the Bengal returns (*Census Report*, 173) shows that they are unusually short lived.

³ *Loc. cit.*, 214.

posed to be subject to this malignant influence ; but a handsome bachelor is considered the most likely victim. The souls of those who are thus affected remain for ever in the power of the enchantress, and when she dies she becomes a Bhukhm, a malignant demon, commanding a troop of the souls she has slain. Among the lower castes of Hindus, and especially the Kewats and Châis, whose traditional descent from the Kaivartas or Nishâdas stamps them as non-Aryan, are found individuals who possess the secret antidote to the fascination. At Pipra Ghât on the Râpti, between Utraula and Tulasipur, there is an especially famous exorcisor, who has a large school of pupils.”¹

48. The only caste with whom the Thârus live on in intimate terms is that of the Banjâras. The honesty of the Thârus is proverbial. It is said that when a family flies into the hills they will always leave any arrears of rent that may be due tied up in a rag to the lintel of their deserted house. It is said that husband and wife never quarrel. “This is not,” says Mr. Knowles,² “because the women are kept under ; for they seem as free and independent in their movements as the men. A Thâru woman will look as straight at you when you speak of her as a European woman will. I noticed another good trait in the social character of these people. The parents seem as fond of the girls as of the boys, and make no degrading distinction as the natives of the plains do. The Thâru’s word of endearment for his wife is *jâni*. He calls his daughter a *bâbu* and his son a *bhâiya*—“My love,” “my lord,” “my brother.”

Distribution of Thârus according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Bareilly . . .	8	Tarâi . . .	15,392
Pilibhit . . .	46	Kheir . . .	1,975
Gorakhpur . . .	3,072	Gonda . . .	2,475
Basti . . .	208	Bahrâich . . .	2,311
Kumoun . . .	65		
		TOTAL .	25,492

¹ Oudh Gasetteer, III, 503.

² Loc. cit., 210.

Thathera¹—(Probably derived from Sanskrit *taṣṭa-kṛta*, “one who polishes”)—The caste of braziers and makers and sellers of brass and copper vessels. It is not easy to ascertain exactly the difference of function between the Kaseṛa and Tha'hera. According to Mr. Nesfield :² “The Kaseṛa's speciality lies in mixing the softer metals (zinc, copper, and tin), and moulding the alloy into various shapes, such as cups, bowls, plates, etc. The Thathera's art consists in polishing and engraving the utensils which the Kaseṛa supplies.” In the Panjāb it would seem that the Kaseṛa is the capitalist dealer, while the Thathera is the skilled artizan.³ But these functions seem to overlap, and in Mirzapur the term Thathera seems to be more generally applied to the craftsman who makes ornaments out of the alloy known as *phāl*.

2. Curiously enough, there is, in Oudh, a widespread tradition that the Thatheras were lords of the land before the Rājput invasion.⁴ Mr. McMinn hazards the speculation that the Thatheras of Oudh legend were Bhars; others say that they were Thārus. But all this is mere speculation, and we really know nothing as to the people who are referred to. The tribe in Mirzapur say that they came from Bengal some three or four generations ago, and they name a place called Nasirganj in the Shāhābād District as their head quarters. In Lucknow they say that they were originally Kshatriyas, and they have the stock story that, when Parasurāma destroyed the Kshatriya race, one of their women, who was pregnant, was protected by a certain Kamandala Rishi, and that her offspring founded the caste of Thatheras. They add that their original home was a place called Ratanpur in the Dakkhin. In Benares, according to Mr. Sherring,⁵ they wear the Brāhmanical thread and claim to hold a place intermediate between the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. The caste is obviously purely occupational.

3. The internal organization of the caste is very complex. At the last Census no less than three hundred and fourteen sub-castes were recorded, but

¹ Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by M. Chhoté Lal, Lucknow; Pandit Baldeo Prasad, Deputy Collector, Cawnpur.

² *Brief View*, 29.

³ Johnstone, *Monograph on Brass and Copper Ware*, 17.

⁴ Elliott, *Chronicles of Oudh*, 25; *Oudh Gazetteer*, I, 22, 221, sq. 270, 275. *Hardoi Settlement Report*, 75, 85, 100, 165, 227.

⁵ *Hindu Tribes*, I, 321.

it is at present impossible to say how many of these represent endogamous, and how many exogamous, groups. In Mirzapur there are two endogamous groups, Awadhiya or "those of Oudh," and Bhusantiya. In Lucknow the chief exogamous groups are Bhariya, Bangariya, Barwâr, Daundiya Kheriya, who take their name from the famous Bais Râjput stronghold on the Ganges, Gurha, Barhariya, Tusaha, Gulraha, Dandiya, Jarseth, and Lodh.

4. The exogamous groups practise the usual rule which excludes the line of the paternal and maternal uncle

Exogamy.

and the paternal and maternal aunt for three or four generations, or until all knowledge of relationship is lost.

5. They marry in the orthodox way by the forms known as *byâh* or *chârhaui* and *dola*. Widow marriage and the levirate are allowed under the

Marriage.

usual restrictions.

6. Some Thatheras are Saivas; but most of them are Vaishnavas. In Mirzapur they worship Mahâbîr, the Pânchon Pir, and Devi in the form of

Religion.

Bhâgawati. Mahâbîr is worshipped in the months of Sâwan or Kuâr and on the birth of a child with an offering of sweetmeats, fried gram (*ghughuri*), bread, and the erection of a flag (*jhanda*) in his honour. The Pânchon Pir are worshipped at marriages and at the festivals of the Diwâli and Khichari; at marriages with an offering of a head-dress (*maui*) and food, on the Diwâli with parched grain (*lâi, chura*), and at the Khichari with *khichari* or rice boiled with pulse. They worship as a fetish the furnace (*bhatti*) in which the metal they work up is melted. In Lucknow their anvil (*nihâi*) and hammer represent a deity known as Kalawati Kanya or "the skilful maiden." Their domestic ceremonies are superintended by a low class of Brâhmins, who, in Lucknow, are Tiwâris.

7. They drink spirits and eat goat's meat and mutton as well as

Social customs and status.

fish. They eat *pakki* cooked by Brâhmins, Râjputs, and Halwâis; but *kachchi* only if cooked by one of their own caste. Banyas and all lower castes eat *pakki* cooked by them; but *kachchi* cooked by them is eaten only by Nâis and other castes of similar social standing.

Distribution of the Thatheras according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Musal- mans.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dûn	9	...	9
Sahâranpur	71	17	88
Muzaffarnagar	91	252	343
Meerut	37	...	37
Bulandshahr	10	...	10
Aligarh	129	..	129
Mathura	347	...	347
Agra	133	...	133
Farrukhâbâd	304	...	304
Mainpuri	81	...	81
Etâwah	94	...	94
Etah	39	...	39
Bareilly	32	...	32
Bijnor	148	216	364
Budâun	31	...	31
Morâdâbâd	60	...	60
Shâhjahânpur	356	...	356
Pilibhît	29	...	29
Cawnpur	247	...	247
Fatehpur	492	...	492
Bânda	259	...	259
Hamîrpur	86	...	86
Allahâbâd	1,398	...	1,398
Jhânsi	546	...	546
Jâlaun	87	...	87
Lalitpur	137	...	137

Distribution of the Thatheras according to the Census of 1891 —concluded.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus	Musal- mans.	TOTAL.
Benaies	470	...	470
Mirzapur	143	...	143
Jaunpur	907	...	907
Ghāzipur	806	...	806
Ballia	414	...	414
Gorakhpur	1,631	...	1,631
Basti	1,605	...	1,605
Azamgarh	1,826	...	1,826
Tarāi	12	37	49
Lucknow	702	...	702
Unāo	1,233	...	1,233
Rāo Bareli	129	...	129
Sitapur	347	...	347
Hardoi	55	...	55
Kheri	777	...	777
Faizābād	354	...	354
Gonda	2,136	...	2,136
Fahrāich	533	...	533
Sultānpur	513	...	513
Partābgarh	430	...	430
Bātabanki	547	...	547
TOTAL	20,823	532	21,345

Thavai—(Sanskrit *sthapati*, "a master-builder").—The caste of masons and bricklayers. At the last Census they appear to have been included under Rāj (*q. v.*). They are the Thavi of the Panjāb, who is a mason and bricklayer in the hills, and claims to have

been originally a Brāhman, who was degraded because he took to working in stone. The caste is purely occupational and contains both Hindus and Muhammadans; the latter say that their first *ustād* or teacher was Bāba Ibrāhīm, or father Abraham. The Hindu branch say the same of Viswakarma, the architect of the gods. The Muhammadan branch worship their tools at the Id festival, and offer sweetmeat to them. The Hindu Thavais, when they commence work in the morning, say *Viswakarma ki jay ho* "Glory to Viswakarma."

Tiyar, Tiar.—A Dravidian boating and fishing tribe in the Eastern Districts, sometimes classed as a sub-tribe of the Mallāh. The word is possibly derived from Sanskrit *tivara*, "a hunter or fisherman." According to Mr. Risley's account¹ their customs on the whole correspond with those of the allied fishing and boating tribes. They are apparently the same as the so-called Teehurs of Oudh, who furnish one of the stock instances of communistic marriage. They are said to "live almost indiscriminately in large communities, and even when two people are regarded as married the tie is but nominal."² Though there may be considerable laxity of sexual intercourse among a people, the males of whom are compelled by their profession to leave the women for considerable intervals, the statement is perhaps exaggerated. The Tiyars also furnish one of the best modern cases of human sacrifice. The account given by Mr. Goad,³ after describing how the bodies of two murdered men were found in 1865 in a hut in the Benares district, goes on to say:—"Two of the Tiyar caste had been down to Bengal in charge of some boats; when they returned they brought a letter addressed to the Tiyar caste calling on them to become vegetarians (*bhagat*); they were not to kill fish, nor eat them any more. This letter appears to have been circulated among the Tiyar caste in the Benares, Azamgarh, and Ghāzipur districts, and which resulted in the above assemblage, on which occasion they acted a regular play by five men representing five deities,—Rām, Mahābīr, Mahādeo Senior (*sic.*), Zetbut (*sic.*), and Mahādeo Junior (*sic.*)—that is to say, the three defendants—Beni, Pirthi Pāl, and Bassi represented the deities

¹ *Tribes and Castes*, *sqq.*, II, 328.

² Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation* 89, quoting Watson and Kaye, *The People of India*, II, plate 85.

³ Quoted by Dr. Chevers, *Medical Jurisprudence*, 406, *sqq.*, from Lewin's *Police Guide*, 205.

Râm, Mahâbîr, and Mahâdeo Junior, and the deceased Shiubharat and Râm Sewak, Mahâdeo Senior and Zetbut; and by the order of Râm, Mahâdeo Junior, and Mahâbîr slew Zetbut and Mahâdeo Senior, Râm having promised to bring them to life again. This appears to be a most curious case, as nothing of the kind has been heard of before. The actors in this affair are a low caste, and next to savages, so that it is difficult to get a proper meaning to the catastrophe."

2. The same is the name of a clan of Râjputs in Sultânpur. Mr. Millet¹ describes them as nearly an extinct race, who are said to have been at one time lords of Pargana Sultânpur. "They succeeded the Bhadaiyâns, the conquerors of the Bhars and were in turn overcome by the Bachgotis, whose star is at present in the ascendant. The order of succession is chronicled in the following doggerel lines :-

Bhar mâr Bhadaiyân :

Bhadaiyân mâr Tiyar :

Tiyar mâr Bachgoti.

The Tiyars gave their name to one of the old sub-divisions of the pargana, Tappa Tiyar, and this, perhaps, rather than the entire pargana, was the extent of their dominions. At present they have nothing more than a right of occupancy in a few acres in their own Tappa. Regarding the Tiyars very little is known. Mr. Carnegy² considers them to belong to the Solar race; they themselves say that they are descended from immigrants from Baiswâra, who received a grant of the Bhadaiyâns territory from the Râja of Benares. Mr. Millet suggests a connection between their name and the Tarâi or Tîrabhukti (Tîrhât).

Tomar (Sanskrit *tomara*, "a club") **Tunwar**.—A famous sept of Râjputs. Though a sub-division of the Yadubansi they are usually reckoned as one of the thirty-six royal races. They furnished India with the dynasty of Vikramaditya. Delhi was rebuilt by Anangpâl Tomar in A.D. 731—736 and became his capital and that of several of his successors; but, according to General Cunningham,³ there is reason to believe that subsequently the Tomar capital was removed to Kanauj, where it remained for several generations prior to the invasion of Mahmûd of Ghazni. Shortly after that the small town of Bâri, north of Lucknow, became the

¹ *Sultânpur Settlement Report*, 184, sq.

² *Notes*, 27.

³ *Archæological Reports*, I, 141, sqq.; 283.

capital till about 1050 A.D., when the Tomars returned to Delhi before the growing power of the Râthours; and then Anangpâl, the Second, rebuilt the city and erected the Lâlkot. There is an inscription of his on the iron pillar, dated 1052 A.D., and just a century after Anangpâl III was defeated by Visala Deva, Chauhân, in 1151-52 A.D. The history of the dynasty has been worked out with great detail by General Cunningham.

2. The Tomar dynasty of Gwâlior was founded by Bîr Sinh Deva, who was probably a member of the Delhi family, and, according to the annalists, declared his independence in the time of Alâ-ud-dîn Khilji; but there is a difficulty about the dates, and General Cunningham¹ believes that the rise of the Tomars must have taken place during the few troubled years that immediately preceded the invasion of Timûr. His successor, Dungar Sinh, who came to the throne in 1424, raised the kingdom to great prosperity and began the great rock sculptures. Their power reached its zenith in the reign of Mân Sinh, who succeeded in 1486 A.D., and the kingdom was finally destroyed by Ibrahîm Lodi in 1519 A.D., who captured the capital.

3. In these Provinces the present status of the clan does not correspond with the splendour of its traditions. The Janghâra of Budâun claim to be of this stock; but their genealogical lists do not substantiate their assertion. They fix their immigration in the time of Shahâb-ud-dîn (1202—1206 A.D.). In Morâdâbâd² they fix their settlement at Sambhal at 700 A.D., where it is said to have lasted till 1150 A.D., the time of the rise of the Chauhâns. The Bareilly clan claim to have entered the district under their leader Hansrâj, and expelled the Guâlas in 1388, and the Ahîrs and Bhîls between 1405 and 1570 A.D.³ The Batola of Garhwâl claim to be another branch of the same stock.⁴ In the Eastern Districts they are not considered to be of high rank, a fact which Dr. Buchanan⁵ explains in his quaint way by alleging that the last princes of the race were "abominable heretics."

4. In Sîtapur they marry girls of the Gaur, Ahban, Bâchhal, or Janwâr septs.

¹ *Ibid.*, II, 381, sq.

² *Settlement Report*, 8.

³ *Settlement Report*, 224.

⁴ Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III, 276.

⁵ *Eastern India*, II, 463.

Distribution of the Tomar Rājputs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus	Muham- madans	TOTAL.
Sahāranpur	1,005	16	1,021
Muzaffarnagar	307	1,362	1,669
Meerut	391	...	391
Bulandshahr	482	3,344	3,826
Aligarh	1,436	...	1,436
Mathura	1,042	38	1,080
Agra	5,521	37	5,558
Faīrukhabād	769	...	769
Mainpuri	2,976	2	2,978
Etāwah	2,128	15	2,143
Etah	2,265	57	2,322
Barilly	29	...	29
Bijnor	67	207	269
Budāun	2,987	70	3,057
Morādābād	1,201	107	1,308
Shāhjahānpur	989	...	989
Pilibhīt	280	2	282
Cawnpur	958	...	958
Fatehpur	911	...	911
Banda	584	23	607
Hamīrpur	76	...	76
Allābād	268	...	268
Jhānsi	270	...	270
Jālaun	4	...	4
Lalitpur	184	...	184
Benares	157	...	157
Ghāzipur	2	5	7

Distribution of the Tomar Rājputs according to the Census of 1891—condolid.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	TOTAL.
Ballia	389	...	389
Gorakhpur	86	135	221
Basti . . . . .	...	408	408
Azamgarh	1	171	172
Tarāi	158	...	158
Lucknow	105	3	108
Unāo	115	27	142
Raē Bareli	177	...	177
Sitapur	1,882	1	1,883
Hardoi	1,227	...	1,227
Kheri	1,164	9	1,173
Faizābād	151	...	151
Bahrāich	29	...	29
Sultānpur	12	...	12
Partābgarh	61	...	61
Bārabanki	69	...	69
TOTAL	32,915	6,039	38,954

Turk (Sanskrit *turushka*), a term properly applied to the Mongolian Turkomāns of Turkistān. Sir H. Yule¹ shows that the distinction which we now make between Turk and Turkomān was popular as early as the twelfth century. On the Biloch frontier the word Turk is equivalent to Mughal, and it is often used by Hindus for any official of foreign birth. In the Panjāb even Hindu clerks of the Kāyasth caste are sometimes called by this name. The Dravidian tribes very often call any Muhammadan a Turk.

2. In these Provinces there is a large cultivating caste in the Tarāi known as Turk, and in Azamgarh the term is applied to a

section of the Koeris. Those in the north of Rohilkhand are described as a more manly people than the Naumuslim and appear to have come into the district at an early period with some of the Sayyid colonies.¹

3. From a report received from the Râmpur State it appears that the Turks claim to be originally emigrants from Turkistân, whence they came in the train of the army of Shahâb-ud-dîn Ghori. They deny that they have ever admitted converts from Hinduism ; but they are more Hindu in their customs than other Muhammadans. They marry early, earlier than even the many Hindu castes, and for the ceremonial shaving of their children prefer the month of Baisâkh. They care little about the seclusion of their women. They are endogamous, and if a Turk marries a woman of another Muhammadan tribe he is put out of caste. The women wear a peculiar dress, the scarf and drawers, which are generally of coarse cloth, being dyed blue and lined with red. The drawers are very loose above the knee and tight over the ankle. They have sections whose names are derived from local appellation and do not influence marriage. Their profession is agriculture.

Distribution of the Turks according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Allahâbâd . . .	7	Taiâi . . .	4,953
Gorakhpur . . .	7	Lucknow . . .	9
Garhwâl . . .	18	Rampur . . .	34,008
		TOTAL .	39,002

¹ Morâdâbâd Settlement Report, 22 ; Asamgarh Settlement Report, 34.

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Udâsi (Sanskrit *udas*, "to sit separate or apart from").—An order of Hindu ascetics who are said to have been founded by Sri Chand, the son of Nānak.¹ "The Udâsis were distasteful to the third Guru, Amar Dâs, who excommunicated the order; but it appears to have been revived by Bâba Gurditta, the son of the sixth Guru, Har Govind. Gurditta proclaimed his mission in the following manner: There was on a hill near Râwalpindi a Muhammadan faqîr called Budhan Shâh, to whom Bâba Nānak had entrusted some milk to be kept till his successor should come to claim it. This faqîr, seeing Gurditta approach, requested him to appear in the form of Bâba Nānak, and Gurditta having acquiesced, earned the title of Bâba and a claim to considerable sanctity. He lived mainly at Kirtâmpur, but he died at Kiratpur, where there is a handsome shrine in his honour, built on an eminence commanding a fine view. At Kiratpur there is also a shrine known as Mânji Sâhib, where Bâba Gurditta is said to have discharged an arrow, which fell in the plain below at a place called Patâlpuri, long used as a burning ground for the Sodhis. Gurditta is said also to have been known merely as Bâbaji.

2. "The Udâsis are divided into four orders (called Dhuân, 'smoke,' from the fires round which they sit), named after four noted Udâsis, *viz.*, Phûl Sâhib, whose shrines are at Bahâdurpur and Chini Ghâti in the Hoshiyârpur district; Bâba Hasana, whose shrine is at Charankaul, near Anandpur; Almast Sâhib, who is represented at Jagannâth and Naini Tâl; and Govind Sâhib, who is represented at Shikârpur in Sindh and at the Sangalwâla Gurudwâra in Amritsar. There are also sections called Bhagat Bhagwân and Sangat Sâhib, but it does not appear clearly whether these are separate sections or subordinate to, or identical with, some of the above. The Bhagat Bhagwâns are said to have a Gurudwâra at Patna. They are the followers of one Bhagat Gir of that city, who was converted by Dharm Chand, the grandson of Nānak.

3. "The Sangat Sâhibiya will not eat with others. They were founded by Bhâi Bhâlu, who, according to one version of the story, was a Jât merchant of the Mâlwa country; and, according to another,

¹ *Panjab Census Report*, 151.

a carpenter of Amritsar. He was, while yet in darkness, a follower of Sultān, but was persuaded by Guru Govind Sinh to throw over the form of worship and adopt the name of Sangat Sâhib. Another legend ascribes the origin of the Sangat Sâhibiya to Bhâi Pheru. It is said that a large number of Jâts, carpenters, and Lohârs belong to this section. They have a Gurudwâra in the Lahore district, and the Brahmabhût Akhâra at Amritsar. Each sub-division of the Udâsis has a complete organization for collecting and spending money, and is presided over by a principal Mahant, called Sri Mahant, with subordinate Mahants under him.

4. "The Udâsis are recruited from all castes and will eat food from any Hindu. They are almost always celibates and are sometimes, though not usually, congregated in monasteries. They are generally found wandering to and fro from their sacred places, such as Amritsar, Dera Nânak, Kirtârpur, and the like. They are said to be numerous in Mâlwa and in Benares. In the Panjâb returns they appear strongly in Jâlandhar, Rohtak, and Firozpur. It is a mistake to say that they are not generally recognised as Sikhs; they pay special reverence to the Adi-granth, but also respect the Granth of Govind Sinh and attend the same shrines as the Sikhs generally. Their service consists of a ringing of bells and blare of instruments and waving of lights before the Adi-granth and the picture of Bâba Nânak. They are, however, by no means uniform in their customs. Some wear long hair, some wear matted locks, and others cut their hair. Some wear caste marks (*tilak*); others do not. Some burn the dead in the ordinary Hindu way; some, after burning, erect monuments (*samâdh*); others apparently bury the dead. They are for the most part ascetics, but some are said to be engaged in ordinary secular pursuits. The ordinary dress of the ascetics is of a red colour, but a large section of them go entirely naked, except for the waist-cloth, and rub ashes over their bodies. These, like the naked sections of other orders, are known as Nangê; they pay special reverence to the ashes with which they smear their bodies and which are said to protect them equally from either extreme of temperature. Their most binding oath is on a ball of ashes.

5. "In Ludhiâna the Udâsis are mostly Jâts by origin, the disciple and successor (*chela*) being usually chosen from this tribe and are found to be in possession of the Dharmaśâlas in Hindu villages, where they distribute food to such as come for it and read the Granth,

both of Bâba Nânak and of Guru Govind Sinh, though they do not attach much importance to the latter. The head of the college is called Mahant and the disciples *chelas*. They live in Sikh as well as in Hindu villages, and it is probably on this account that they do not quite neglect Guru Govind Sinh. They rarely marry; and if they do so, generally lose all influence, for the *dharmsâla* becomes a private residence closed to strangers. But in some few families it has always been the custom to marry, the endowments being large enough to support the family and maintain the institution; but the eldest son does not in this case succeed as a matter of course. A *chela* is chosen by the Mahant or by the family. If a Mahant whose predecessors have not married, should do so, he would lose all his weight with the people."

6. In these Provinces perhaps the most important Gurudwâra of the Udâsis is that at Dehra, which was built in 1669 A.D.¹ The Mahant is the richest man in the Dûn. His election from among the disciples (*chela*) of the last deceased Mahant was formerly guided by the Sikh chiefs of the Panjâb, a fee (*nazarâna*) of five hundred rupees being presented by the British Government at the installation with the complimentary gift in return of a pair of shawls. The distinctive head-dress of the sect worn by the high priest and his disciples is a cap of red cloth, shaped like a sugar loaf, worked over with coloured thread and adorned with a black silk fringe round the rim. Some of the more ignorant Udâsis have a legend in defiance of all chronology, that Gorakhnâth was the first disciple of the order, and was converted by Nânak. Once, they say, there was a contest between Nânak and Gorakhnâth which of them was the greater. To try his power Nânak assumed the form of a fish, and Gorakhnâth failed to catch him. But when Gorakhnâth took the shape of a mosquito, Nânak seized him. Then Gorakhnâth admitted his inferiority and became the disciple of Nânak. The form of initiation is that the Guru bathes the disciple and smears his body with ashes, and with the same substance makes a long and slightly curved mark on his forehead. Then the initiate washes the feet of the Guru and four of his senior disciples with water which he drinks. If he can afford it he then feasts the brethren. They will eat and drink from the hands of all but the lower class of

¹ Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III, 197.

Hindus. They always repeat an invocation to the Creator in the words *Satya Sri Kartār*; and they salute the brethren in the words *Gor lagāta hūn*—"I salute your feet." The use of intoxicants is strictly forbidden by the rules of order, but many use *ganja* and opium. Here they appear always to cremate their dead. Some of the ashes are occasionally kept, and a monument, which they call *jantri*, is erected over them.

Distribution of the Udāsia according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Dehra Dūn . . .	652	Hamirpur . . .	1
Saharānpur . . .	357	Allahābād . . .	70
Muzaffarnagar . .	35	Jhānsi . . .	6
Meerut . . .	158	Benares . . .	9
Bulandshahr . . .	6	Mirzapur . . .	23
Aligarh . . .	2	Jaunpur . . .	33
Agra . . .	10	Ghāzipur . . .	66
Farrukhābād . . .	38	Ballia . . .	227
Mainpuri . . .	11	Azamgarh . . .	12
Etāwah . . .	5	Garhwal . . .	14
Etah . . .	28	Tarāi . . .	17
Bareilly . . .	64	Lucknow . . .	35
Bijnor . . .	105	Rāi Bareli . . .	3
Budāun . . .	2	Sitapur . . .	204
Morādābād . . .	270	Kheri . . .	46
Shāhjahanpur . . .	3	Faizābād . . .	58
Pilibhit . . .	64	Gonda . . .	17
Cawnpur . . .	7	Bahraich . . .	* 73
Fatehpur . . .	13	Sultānpur . . .	42
Bānda . . .	5		
		TOTAL . . .	2,791
		Females . . .	770

Ujjaini.—A sept of Rājputs who take their name from the city of Ujjain, the Ozene of the Greeks. In Azamgarh¹ they can tell no more of their history than that they emigrated sixteen generations ago; they once held the greater part of pargana Gopālpur, but were obliged to give way to the Kausika. In Cawnpur² they carry back their first settlement to the arrival from Ujjain of Sūr Sāh, a Panwār Rājput, by invitation of his connection Jay Chand, of Kanauj, who invested him with the title of Rāja of the Ujjainis. They are thus really of Panwār origin. In Sultānpur³ they are said to have succeeded the Bhars. It may be noted that some of the Bais and other Rājput septs in Oudh also claim their origin from Ujjain.

2. In Farrukhābād they claim to belong to the Garga *gotra*; give girls to the Chandel, Bhadauriya, Kachhwāha, Chauhān, and Pramār; and marry their sons to the Chamar Gaur, Rāthaur, Gaharwār, and Sombansi. In Ballia their *gotra* is Saunak. They take wives from the Haihobansi, Barwār, Nikumbh, Kinwār, Raghubansi, Sengar, Sakarwār, Chandel, Maharwār, and Pachhtoriya. They give brides to the Bisen, Sirnet, Rāj Kumār, Baghel, Bais, Kausik, Nāgbansi, Raghubansi, Chauhān, and Haihobansi.

Distribution of Ujjaini Rājputs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Farrukhābād . . .	740	Basti . . .	211
Mainpuri . . .	40	Azamgarh . . .	551
Etāwah . . .	121	Lucknow . . .	38
Shāhjahānpur . . .	40	Unāo . . .	482
Cawnpur . . .	5	Sitapur . . .	105
Hamirpur . . .	3	Hardoi . . .	269
Allahābād . . .	5	Faizābād . . .	77
Benares . . .	157	Gonda . . .	15
Mirzapur . . .	4	Bahrāich . . .	19
Jaunpur . . .	19	Sultānpur . . .	207
Ghāzipur . . .	242	Partābgarh . . .	4
Ballia . . .	775		
Gorakhpur . . .	457	TOTAL . . .	4,586

¹ *Settlement Report*, 60.

² *Ibid*, 22, 25.

³ *Oudh Gasetteer*, I, 25.

Ummar.—A sub-caste of Banyas found in considerable numbers, except in the Meerut, Agra, and Kumaun divisions. An attempt has been made to connect their name with that of the Umras, who are described by Colonel Tod as a branch of the Sodhas, and who gave their name to Umairkot. Those to the east say that they emigrated from the neighbourhood of Ajudhya about three generations ago. To the east they are divided into three endogamous groups—Til Ummar, Derh Ummar, and Dûsra, of which the last holds an inferior position. Widow marriage is not allowed. They agree in their customs with the Kasaundhan (q. v.). Their clan deities to the east of the Province are Mahâbîr, Mahâdeva, and Devi. To Mahâdeva and Mahâbîr they offer sweets, Brâhmanical cords, gram, and flowers on the twenty-eighth day of Sâwan. They worship Devi at the Naurâtri with offerings of cakes (*sobâri*), sweetmeats (*halwa*), and a burnt-offering of camphor. Their priests are Sarwariya Brâhmans.

2. The Ummar are shopkeepers and usually sell provisions and tobacco. The use of meat and spirits is prohibited. Their priests, but not other Brâhmans, eat *pakki* prepared by them. Banyas eat *pakki* but not *kachchi* cooked by them. They will eat *pakki* cooked by Brâhmans and by other Banyas, but *kachchi* only if cooked by one of their own sub-caste.

Distribution of Ummar Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Bulandshahr . . .	1	Pilibhit . . .	639
Mathura . . .	17	Cawnpur . . .	7,548
Agra . . .	35	Fatehpur . . .	2,972
Farrukhâbâd . . .	883	Bânda . . .	622
Mainpuri . . .	1	Hamîrpur . . .	4,371
Etâwah . . .	168	Allahâbâd . . .	645
Bareilly . . .	61	Jhânsi . . .	1,178
Morâdâbâd . . .	1	Jâlaun . . .	302
Shâhjahanpur . . .	1,752	Lalitpur . . .	1

Distribution of Ummar Banyas according to the Census of 1891—concl'd.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Benares . . .	424	Hardoi . . .	2,741
Mirzapur . . .	3,893	Kheri . . .	1,114
Jaunpur . . .	3,731	Faizâbâd . . .	14
Gorakhpur . . .	611	Gonda . . .	969
Basti . . .	537	Bahrâich . . .	1,447
Azamgarh . . .	270	Sultânpur . . .	216
Lucknow . . .	3,122	Partâbgarh . . .	2,934
Unâo . . .	812	Bârabanki . . .	1,655
Sitapur . . .	823	TOTAL . . .	46,513

Unâi, Unâya.—A sub-caste of Banyas chiefly found to the east of the Province. They take their name from their *dih* or place of origin, Unâo. To the east they have formed two endogamous groups: the Unâi and Unâwa Unâi, the latter of whom are held in higher estimation because they prohibit widow marriage. They are practically all Hindus, the Jains being very few among them.

Distribution of Unâi Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Farrukhâbâd . . .	3	Râe Bareilly . . .	1
Shâhjahanpur . . .	27	Sitapur . . .	2,268
Pilibhît . . .	284	Hardoi . . .	10
Cawnpur . . .	4	Kheri . . .	1,073
Benares . . .	38	Faizâbâd . . .	31
Jaunpur . . .	1,501	Gonda . . .	661
Gorakhpur . . .	4,657	Bahrâich . . .	2,966
Basti . . .	241	Partâbgarh . . .	8
Azamgarh . . .	2	Bârabanki . . .	2,354
Lucknow . . .	1,766	TOTAL . . .	17,895

Utkala.—A tribe of Brāhmans who take their name from Odra or Orissa, of whom a few are found in these Provinces. According to Mr. Beames¹: "Tradition relates that all the original Brāhmans of Orissa were extinct at the time of the rise of the Gangavansa race of kings, but that ten thousand Brāhmans were induced to come from Kanauj and settled in Jaypur, the sacred city, on the Baitarani river. The date of this immigration is not stated, but the fact is probably historical, and may have been synchronous with the well-known introduction of Kanaujiya Brāhmans into the neighbouring province of Bengal by King Adisura in the tenth century. When the worship of the idol Jagannāth began to be revived at Puri, the Kings of Orissa induced many of the Jaypur Brāhmans to settle round the new temple and conduct the ceremonies. Thus there sprang up a division among the Brāhmans, those who settled in Puri being called the Dakkhinātiya Sreni, or Southern Class, and those who remained at Jaypur the Uttara Sreni, or Northern Class. The latter spread all over Northern Orissa. Many of the Southern Brāhmans are also found in Balasore, and the divisions of two classes are fairly represented in most parts of the district, though the Southern Class is less numerous than the Northern. The former are held in greater esteem for learning and purity of race than the latter."

2. The divisions of the Utkala Brāhmans are most extensive and intricate. As they are scantily represented in these Provinces, it will be sufficient to refer the reader to the lists given by Messrs. Sherring, Risley, and Dr. Wilson.²

Distribution of the Utkal Brāhmans according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS	Number.
Sahāranpur . . .	4	Fatehpur . . .	3
Muzaffarnagar . . .	1	Jālaun . . .	2
Mathura . . .	26	Gorakhpur . . .	6
Mainpur . . .	185	Lucknow . . .	1
Bareilly . . .	8	Sitapur . . .	1
Shāhjahānpur . . .	11		
Cawnpur . . .	2	TOTAL . . .	250

¹ Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I, 160.

² *Hindu Tribes*, I, 73, sq.; *Indian Caste*, II, 222, sq.

V

Vallabhachârya, Gokulastha Gusâin.—A sect who take their name from the great heresiarch Vallabhachârya, who was born in 1479 A.D., being the second son of Lakshman Bhat, a Talanga Brâhman of the Vishnu Swami Sampradaya. "By the accident of birth, though not by descent, he can be claimed as a native of Upper India, having been born at Champaranya, a wild solitude in the neighbourhood of Benares, whither his parents had travelled up from the South on a pilgrimage. Their stay in the holy city was cut short by a popular emeute, the result of religious intolerance; and the mother, who was little in a condition to encounter the distress and fatigue of so hasty a flight, prematurely gave birth on the way to an eight-months' child. Either from an exaggerated alarm as to their own peril, or as was afterwards said, from a sublime confidence in the promised protection of Heaven, they laid the babe under a tree and abandoned it. When some days had elapsed and their fears had subsided, they cautiously retraced their steps, and finding the child still alive and uninjured on the very spot where he had been left, they took him with them to Benares." By another form of the legend the scene of Vallabhachârya's miraculous deliverance is fixed at Chunâr, and the parents are said to have thrown the child into a well which is known as the Achâraj kûp, or "wonderful well." Hence the place is visited by large numbers of Vallabhachârya pilgrims, who have erected a temple there dedicated to Mahâ Prabhu. The slaughter of fish and other animals is specially prohibited within the sacred precincts and bathing in the sacred well is supposed to be a remedy for leprosy and barrenness in women.

2. The sect has acquired rather disgraceful notoriety in connection with the famous Mahârâja libel case which was tried in Bombay in 1862. The proceedings of this remarkable trial have been reprinted in a book entitled "The History of the sect of the Mahârâjas of Vallabhachâryas in Western India," which gives a full account of their history, tenets, and religious practices. From this authority¹ we learn that a "Vallabhachâryan temple consists of three separate compartments. The central one is larger and more open than the

¹ Page 99, eq.

other two, being intended for the accommodation of the numerous worshippers who daily throng there. Of the remaining two, one is the residence of the Mahârâja, and the other is dedicated to the worship of the image of Krishna. The temples are numerous all over India, especially at Mathura and Brindaban. In Bonares there are two very celebrated and wealthy temples, one of which is dedicated to Krishna under the name of Lâlji, and the other to the same god under the name of Purushottamji. Those of Jagannâth and Dwârîka are also particularly venerated, but the most celebrated of all these establishments is that at Sri Nâthadwâra in Mewâr. The image is said to have transported itself thither from Mathura, *when Aurangzeb ordered the temple it stood in to be destroyed. The present shrine is modern, but very richly endowed, and the high priest, a descendant of Gokulnâthji, is a man of great wealth and importance.

3. The image Thakurji, or the idol, in the different temples is either of stone or brass, and represents Krishna in various attitudes, corresponding to those which he is alleged to have assumed in the several periods of his earthly existence, either when performing uncommon feats and miracles, or living at particular places, or engaged in particularly interesting scenes. Each of these is worshipped under a different name; that of Sri Nâthji, being the most important and most honoured, is at Nâthadwâra. Krishna is here represented as a little boy in the act of supporting the mountain Govardhan on his little finger, to shelter his playmates from a heavy shower of rain which had overtaken them when at play. This image is always splendidly dressed, and richly decorated with ornaments, which are often of the value of several thousand pounds." For further particulars of the sect generally full information may be obtained in the authority from which this quotation has been made.

4. Of the sect at Mathura Mr. Growse¹ writes:—"Unlike
The Mathura
Vallabhachârya.
other Hindu sects, in which the religious teachers are usually unmarried, all the Gusâins among the Vallabhachâryas are invariably family men and engage freely in secular pursuits. They are the Epicureans of the East, and are not ashamed to avow their belief that the ideal life consists rather in social enjoyment than in solitude and mortifica-

¹ *Mathura*, 261, sqq.

tion. Such a creed is naturally destructive of all self-restraint, even in matters where indulgence is by common consent held criminal ; and the profligacy to which it has given rise is so notorious, that the Mahârâja of Jaypur was moved to expel from his capital the ancient image of Gokul Chaudrama, for which the sect entertained special veneration, and has further conceived such a prejudice against Vaishnavas in general, that all his subjects are compelled, before they appear in his presence, to mark their foreheads with the three horizontal lines that indicate a votary of Siva. However, as in many other forms of religion, and happily so in this case, practice is not always in accordance with doctrine. Though there may be much that is reprehensible in the inner life of the Gusâins, it is not at Gokul obtruded on the public, and has never occasioned any open scandal, while the present head of the community, Gusâin Parushottam Lâl, a descendant of Bitthalnâth's sixth son Jadunâth, deserves honourable mention for his exceptional liberality and enlightenment."

5. At all Vallabhachârya temples, the daily services are eight in number, *viz.*, 1st, Mangala, the morning levée, a little after sunrise when the god is taken from his couch and bathed ; 2nd, Sringâra, an hour and a half later, when the god is attired in all his jewels and seated on his throne ; 3rd, Gwâla, after an interval of about three-quarters of an hour, when the god is supposed to be starting to graze his cattle in the woods of Braj ; 4th, Râj Bhog, the midday meal, which, after presentation is consumed by the priests and distributed among the votaries who have assisted at the ceremonies ; 5th, Uttâpan, about 3 P.M., when the god awakes from his siesta ; 6th, Bhog, the evening collation ; 7th, Sandhya, the disrobing at sunset ; and 8th, Sayan, the retiring to rest. Upon all these occasions the ritual concerns only the priests, and the lay worshipper is only a spectator, who evinces his reverence by any of the ordinary forms with which he would approach a human superior.

6. On the full moon of Asârh there is a curious annual ceremony for the purpose of ascertaining the agricultural prospects of the year. The priests place litt'e packets of the ashes of different staples, after weighing them, in the sanctuary. The temple is then closed, but the night is spent in worship. In the morning the packets are examined. Should any of the packets have increased in weight, that particular article of produce will yield a good harvest ; and should

they decrease, the harvest will be scanty in proportion to the decrease.

Distribution of the Gokulastha Gurdîns according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Number.	DISTRICTS.	Number.
Fatehpur . . .	1	Faizâbâd . . .	28
Gorakhpur . . .	8	TOTAL .	30

CASTE INDEX.

[The references are to paragraphs. The castes to which asterisks are attached are the subject of special articles.]

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*Pardesi—Kadhera.

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